DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 284 698 RC 016 308

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TITLE Intercultural Education: Concept, Context, Curriculum Practice. Education and Culture. The CDCC's Project No. 7: "The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants."
INSTITUTION Council for Cultural Cooperation, Strasbourg (France).
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 253p.; Based on the International Conference on Intercultural Curriculum (2nd, London, England, 1984).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Agency Role; *Cultural Awareness; Cultural Context; Drama; *Educational Development; Foreign Countries; Immigrants; Intercultural Programs; *Interdisciplinary Approach; Language; Literature; *Multicultural Education; Science Education; Secondary Education; *Secondary School Curriculum; Social Sciences; Technological Literacy
IDENTIFIERS *Council of Europe (France); *Europe

ABSTRACT

The Second International Conference for Multicultural Education focused on making European educational systems more European, international and intranational, and brought together views from teachers and other educationalists on issues relating primarily to secondary curriculum. This publication discusses the general ideas raised at the conference and provides 20 papers grouped into 3 sections: (1) the concept of intercultural education and its recent history, (2) the context in which schooling takes place in Europe, particularly from the viewpoint of those regarded as migrants or newcomers to the countries concerned, (3) the intercultural curriculum and examination of a series of detailed specifications of practice in the subject areas of languages, literature, drama, social sciences, and science and technology within the secondary curriculum. Conclusions and some recommendations for future action are provided in a fourth section. Some of the papers include references. Appendices contain a list by author of the papers given at the conference, and a list of participants by country. (JMM)

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EDUCATION & CULTURE

Intercultural education

Concept, context, curriculum practice

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Strasbourg 1986

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The CDCC's Project No. 7:
"The education and cultural development of migrants"

Intercultural education

Concept, context, curriculum practice

Edited by Crispin Jones and Keith Kimberley

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Council for Cultural Co-operation
School Education Division

Strasbourg 1986

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PREFACE

Despite at least two decades of effort, many European education systems still appear to be firmly committed to an ethnocentric and Eurocentric nationalist past. This is not to deny that some progress has been made to make European educational systems more European, more international and more intranational. This book is a contribution to this process. Its origins are in the Second International Conference on Intercultural Curriculum, organised by the Centre for Multicultural Education at the London University Institute of Education in late 1984.

The Conference was sponsored by the Council of Europe, the Department of Education and Science in London, the Commission for Racial Equality in London, the Inner London Education Authority, the Stichting Opleiding Leraren in Utrecht, the Stichting voor de Leerplanonwikkeling in Enschede, the Swedish Board of Universities and Colleges in Stockholm and the Institut für Interkulturelle Erziehung und Bildung of the Freie Universitat in Berlin. This book is one of the results of the Conference, and its preparation was funded by the Council of Europe. The Conference was the second of a series, the first being held in the Netherlands in 1982 (1).

This second conference focussed more sharply than the first on issues relating to the secondary curriculum. It was a deliberate policy at both conferences to try and ensure the greatest possible participation of practising teachers. The reason for this was that it was felt that much of the European discussion had previously been dominated by educationalists who were not teaching in classrooms. This had led, it was felt, to a disjuncture between theory and practice that was likely to lead to little change in actual school practice.

Just as a centre/periphery model of development is helpful in an understanding of the position of minorities in Europe, so it is equally helpful when applied to an understanding of much educational research and curriculum development. Generated at «the centre», it seldom reaches the «periphery» of the classroom. Indeed, many teachers, wrestling with the issues relating to intercultural education, believe that so-called educational experts offer little to help them improve both the theoretical understanding of the issues involved or the educational practices that bring about and follow upon such an understanding. As Pieter Batelaan asserted in the opening address to the Conference, «Teachers cannot live on rhetoric», neither their own nor, more specifically, the rhetoric of other educational theorists.

The book then is a product of a bringing together of teachers and other educationists from a variety of backgrounds, and perspectives. The coming together was thought useful, fruitful and rewarding for the people concerned and this book is an attempt to share with a wider audience their insights and their dilemmas associated with an examination of the intercultural curriculum.

The Conference brought sharply into focus many issues relating to not just the intercultural curriculum but to the actual process of international, intercultural understanding. As Batelaan indicated, the Conference was in itself a partial reflection of the reality of European classrooms. Linguistic insensitivity, to which English native speakers are particularly prone, reflected the insensitivity to other languages of many national educational systems in Europe. The differing epistemological and structural characteristics of the different educational systems were initially often misunderstood or ignored, reflecting again a wider ethnocentrism in our national educational systems. In a similar fashion, there was no political consensus about education's place in a modern society. Again this reflects the reality of reality of educational politics in Europe: to ignore this, or pretend that such plurality does not exist, is a certain way to ensure that innovation and reform fail to achieve their purpose.

A final point on this theme is that educational academics are fortunate in the opportunities that they have for discussing such issues with colleagues in other countries. Such opportunities are rarer for classroom teachers yet such interchange is important if a true intercultural curriculum, that contains within it a greater understanding of our «Europeanness» is to be achieved. This is a subject to which we return at the end of this book.

The book looks at these issues at both a general and a specific subject-based level. It has four parts. The first looks at the concept of intercultural education and its recent history. The second considers the context in which schooling takes place in Europe at the present time, particularly from the point of view of those regarded as migrants or newcomers to the countries concerned. Part three discusses the intercultural curriculum and examines a series of detailed specifications of practice in selected subject areas within the secondary curriculum. The final part draws conclusions and makes some recommendations for future action.

In reading the following sections, some of the difficulties of such an endeavour emerge. The Conference was called an international one, not in the sense that participants came from all around the world but in the sense that to examine education in modern Europe axiomatically means an international perspective.

This is partly because Europe now has international links, partly due to demographic change and partly because Europe is increasingly aware of its position vis-à-vis the new economic world order. It certainly is not part of this book to substitute a Eurocentric world view for the current nationcentric view that prevails in many European states.

This conscious attempt to bring about an internationalist, intercultural perspective to deliberations about the curriculum is not new. As Cattarini Leger reminded the Conference, UNESCO has had an interest and commitment to this area since 1948, as have other transnational agencies like the Council of Europe.

However, as Martin McLean remined the Conference, to take a comparative perspective on curricular issues is not a straightforward task. We all need to be not only more culturally sensitive, but also to be better informed about the specific initial conditions within which each education system operates. The following sections of this book are an attempt to do just this.

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There is also a version in German.

PART 1: THE CONCEPT OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

We start this section with a paper by Maura ROLANDI RICCI. This paper clears away a lot of the confusion surrounding intercultural education. In particular, it asserts the socio-economic reality within which intercultural education is practised, a point that is further developed in Part Two. Additionally, the paper makes clear that human rights education and intercultural education have close links, a point which is developed in the discussion which follows. In this we examine the concept of intercultural education and attempt to establish terms of reference for the book as a whole.

This is done by means of an examination of the nature of culture and intergroup relations within Europe, and their consequences for education. It is suggested that intercultural education, recognising the unequal socio-cultural relations that characterise European society and their educational consequences, has a positive and crucial role to play in bringing about greater justice and equality.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Maura ROLANDI RICCI

The issue of intercultural education, has been a main concern for the Council of Europe for years.

The Council of Europe, which is the oldest European organisation and the biggest regional grouping in Western Europe has as its declared aim, to promote greater unity between its member States. Today, 21 members participate in its work. Only military questions are excluded from the Council of Europe's work, which covers the international protection of human rights, social and legal affairs, public health, the protection of nature and natural resources, regional and municipal co-operation and education and culture.

The Council of Europe's work on education and culture is supervised by a Council for Cultural Co-operation where the organisation's 21 member States are joined by Finland and the Holy See.

The aim of the education programme is to help these 23 States in their efforts to improve their educational systems. In particular the Council of Europe seeks to:

- bring new ideas, new techniques and new achievements in one member State to the notice of all;
- study questions which have been identified as important by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Council of Europe, and its Parliamentary Assembly;
- increase contacts and co-operation between European educators;
- develop mutual aid among member States;
- make the peoples of Europe aware of their common heritage and of their common responsibilities as Europeans;
- develop among Europeans, as well as between European and the people of other parts of the world, a climate of active understanding of and a respect for the qualities and culture of each other.

Although the Council of Europe's education programme has changed considerably since the organisation was set up in 1949, two constant themes have been education for citizenship and education for international/intercultural understanding which have been studied under a variety of headings - textbook revision, European civic education, social and civic education, teaching about human rights, participation, preparation for life in society, teacher training, and now education and cultural development of migrants, that is to say, education for life in a multicultural society.

The lasting interest in these two themes reflect the fact that the Council of Europe, which has played a pioneering role in establishing machinery for the international protection of human rights is devoted to the principle that «respect for the dignity and intrinsic equality of all human beings is the very basis of a democratic and pluralistic society».

Here are a few points from the Council of Europe's work which reflect this.

«There is no doubt that the educational environment is one of the principle sources of intolerance, together with legal, social and economic inequalities which are the root causes of such intolerance.» (1)

«Although multicultural societies are growing, school systems have remained rigid and concentrated on a monocultural situation. This leaves no room for the concept of culture as a dynamic process.» (2)

No multicultural society - and most European societies are bound to recognise their de facto multicultural nature - given the mass migration of the last three decades - can hope to have its multiculturalism recognised in law and in spirit without at the same time carrying out an active policy on two fronts: socio-economic and educational work.

As a Council of Europe document underlines: «The interaction of the economic, social and cultural factors in this work is such that it appears futile to expect that any lag in one or the other field can be meaningfully offset by progress in only one of the three.» (3)

The school and the media are among the most important sources of the stereotypes and prejudices which play an important role in determining our perceptions of other people, of differences and in determining our judgments of other people and our behaviour towards them. (4)

The school (a compulsory stepping-stone for every new generation) and the media (which create and strengthen images conveyed by society) are, for this reason, two irreplaceable instruments for the public recognition of other people, their identity and their cultural distinctiveness. (5)

In Europe (which today has 15 million immigrants) the harmonious co-existence of the various communities cannot be contemplated unless it is first recognised that:

> «the discovery of others is the discovery of a relationship, not of a barrier» (6)

It is on the basis of these convictions that the Council of Europe works on education from pre-primary to secondary and adult education. (7)

The need to go beyond an ethnocentric approach in inter-group relations, rejection, intolerance and xenophobia, became urgent in the 1970s with the worsening of the conditions of existence and co-existence brought on by the economic recession. It was precisely at that time that the Council of Europe began to focus increasingly on points of stress where cultural influences might have a highly negative influence on the future of the intercultural nature of European societies.

It was with a view to alerting governments to the urgent need for action in this field that the Council of Europe launched a study project on «The training of teachers in a multicultural society».

The results of this activity which lasted from 1977 to 1983 are embodied in a recommendation on «The training of teachers in education for intercultural understanding, notably in a context of migration» which has been adopted by the Committee of Ministers, on 21 September 1984 (8), and which deserves careful consideration.

In the recommendation the Ministers consider that:

- the societies with multicultural features created in Europe by the population movements of recent decades are an irreversible and generally positive development, in that they may help to further closer links between the people of Europe as well as between Europe and other parts of the world;

- flourishing relations in all fields, require a fuller understanding of the cultures and ways of life of other peoples, as well as, in the event, of their common cultural heritage;

- the presence in schools in Europe of millions of children from foreign cultural communities constitutes a source of enrichment and a major medium and long-term asset, provided that education policies are geared to fostering open-mindedness and an understanding of cultural differences;

- in order to fulfil this task, the training given to teachers should equip them to adopt an intercultural approach and be based on an awareness of the enrichment constituted by intercultural understanding and of the value and originality of each culture;

- this intercultural approach should be adopted by all teachers in host countries and countries of origin alike, because it concerns all children;

- teachers issuing from migrant populations are particularly suited to creating with their pupils an educational process which takes account of the interaction of the features of their cultures of origin and of their host milieu.

Therefore they recommend member States to:

train teachers in such a way that they:

- become aware of the various forms of cultural expression present in their own national cultures, and in migrant communities;

- recognise that ethnocentric attitudes and stereotyping can damage individuals, and therefore attempt to counteract their influence;

- realise that they too should become agents of a process of cultural exchange and develop and use strategies for approaching understanding, and giving due consideration to other cultures as well as educating their pupils to give due consideration to them;

- become aware of social exchanges existing between the country of origin and the host country not only in the cultural field but also in their historical dimension;

- become conscious of the economic, social, political and historical causes and effects of migration;

- become conscious too of the fact that the active participation of migrant children to two cultures and their access to intercultural understanding depend, to a great extent, on conditions of stay, work and education in the host country.

A second project on the education and cultural development of migrants (generally called Project No. 7 following the chronological number it was given by the CDCC) was launched in 1981 and deals with three main items:

- links between the school and the family;
- links between school and out-of-school culture;
- links between child education and adult education.

At the same time as these initiatives, parallel work has been going on in «human rights education». It is interesting to notice that in a meeting which was held in 1981 on this subject, the participants emphasised that «human rights education should be aimed at the acquisition of habits and attitudes, and not be confined to merely transmitting knowledge». (9) «What was needed was to produce in the child a capacity for action based on respect for human rights.» (10)

It was also underlined that «in promoting human rights, the teacher should use the diversity of the class (difference of nationality, race, social background, religion and sex) in order to ensure acceptance of the right to be different and to prepare pupils for life in a multicultural society». (11)

In their work both on human rights education and migrants' education, the Council of Europe experts have insisted and still insist on three key points which are absolutely essential to bringing intercultural education from theory down to practice.

1. It is essential that the developmental aspect of curriculum issues are discussed at cross-national level. Intercultural education cannot occur in isolation or from an ethnocentric point of view. The Council of Europe therefore welcomes the initiative which has been taken by our Dutch and British friends in organising the first two conferences on intercultural practice. The documents produced, the ideas expressed in these conferences are of high value and they should be used for developing a curriculum at national level.

2. A second point which is constantly stressed is: comparative links cross-nationally. There is an urgent need to exchange information, materials and opinions about intercultural education between teachers, teacher-trainers, people working in curriculum development and research. In this respect, the work prepared by the International Association of Intercultural Education is of great value and the Council of Europe gives its full support to it.

3. Last, but not least, there is a need to build bridges on cross-national terms between teachers and teacher-trainers as well as between theoretical and practical issues. This includes curriculum-developers in universities and institutes of education who work with subject teachers in the classroom. A good example of what can be done in this field is the work developed by the Centre for Multicultural Education, a work which is well known by the European institutions for its high academic value and functional use - work which, in our view, should be supported and expanded.

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THE CONCEPT OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION - DISCUSSION

In the preceding paper, Maura ROLANDI RICCI indicates some of the elements which characterise the concept of intercultural education. The concept has a long-term history in the ideals of those who, at various times and through various agencies, have sought to increase broadly-based, international co-operation and respect. At this level, intercultural education is about the relations between and, through international contacts and movements of population, within groups. It is also concerned with the worldwide promotion of human rights.

As ROLANDI RICCI makes clear, the concept also has a contemporary European context in specific programmes concerned with the educational needs of the children of migrants; with tackling intolerance and xenophobia intensified by economic recession; and with human rights education.

This book attempts to address both the international and European perspectives. To do otherwise would be to deny the relationships which exist between groups and between nations and, with respect to the curriculum, to travel down narrow alleys to dead ends. Moreover, as Part Two demonstrates, the current multicultural nature of Europe has built into its patterns of inequality many legacies of colonialism. European cultures did not come into being fully formed but are the product of past and present interactions between cultures, which extend beyond European boundaries and across the world.

Returning to the specifically European perspectives, we would like to draw attention to the significance of ROLANDI RICCI's emphasis on the economic and social conditions in which intercultural relations in Europe are at present constituted, and the socio-economic work which is needed in addition to educational work if there is to be any real change. This is because the strongest criticism that can be made of any practice which carries the word culture in its title is that it is narrowly conceived and does not give sufficient weight to the importance of socio-economic factors.

At worst, «intercultural» could, if interpreted in this restricted way, be used as a means of concealing or ignoring inequalities and oppressions based on economic relations.

In our view, a view shared by most of the contributors to this book, intercultural relations cannot properly be understood outside their socio-economic context. For this reason Part Two of this book attempts to give a detailed

examination of the European context, with particular reference to the place of educational policies and institutions within it and Part Three explores the curricular implications of both intercultural and economic relations.

Many people who are engaged in the day to day practice of teaching students in our schools are fully aware of these issues. There have been, and are, a multitude of local, regional and national initiatives in the area of intercultural education. Yet many teachers, rightfully, feel that their day-to-day experiences do not articulate particularly meaningfully with the large educational literature that has emerged in the last fifteen or so years. At the cross-national, European level the gap, if anything, is wider than elsewhere.

This is why this book has attempted, not only to make a further contribution to this literature, but also to try and bring together the activities of practising teachers and the perhaps more theoretical formulations of educationists outside the classroom.

A crucial first step in this process is the attempt to find common conceptual ground on which to operate. We believe, that intercultural education, if carefully defined, is such a step.

Much of the debate relating to this concept has to be predicted upon an understanding or clarification of the nature of culture. As Raymond Williams has shown (1), definition of the concept is a difficult task. Even if defined as the totality of a group's understanding and sense of, and interaction with, the social and physical world, it poses at least two further questions, namely the question of the ways in which cultures adapt and evolve and the definition of a group.

Cultures are partial manifestations of economic and other relations (eg linguistic, religious, etc) and thus, when in contact, affect one another. Such relations are seldon equal. There is obvious benefit from certain types of cultural contact and exchange. Other types of contact and exchange will be, clearly, of less value and benefit. Additionally, there is a differential relationship between cultures dependent on the spatial location of the contact, for example, an Indian culture has a different relationship with English culture depending upon where the people in question are residing. A final point is that cultural exchange will change the cultures of all involved. So to discuss Swedish, French or German culture as if the demographic and other changes of the last forty or so years had not taken place is a nonsense. If they are discussed as if contact, exchange and conflict have not taken place, the discussion is empirically false and socially and politically dangerous. It is a complex yet crucial issue and this is reflected in many of the papers in this volume.

However, the emphasis here is on the educational consequences of such changes in intercultural relations in Europe. This has, historically, been seen as dealing principally with the relations between long established groups within nation states, having a clearly identifiable territorial base such as the Basques in France and Spain or the Frisians in Holland. However, the debate has now moved on to encompass a complex web of both international and intranational (ie within nation) relations, which includes the current wide range of minority groups present in our societies. The social consequence of this has been the increasing manifestation of racism within European nation states. By racism we mean a set of beliefs, practices and institutional structures that discriminate against and demean certain minority groups within Europe. And these beliefs, practices and structures are in consequence, deeply embedded in educational systems.

A further educational consequence of this has usually been seen as relating to the educational performances and achievement of groups within national educational systems rather than with cultures or sub-cultures. Although this point is taken up more fully in Part Three, it is important at this point to look at this «group» perspective in more detail.

The literature of education is replete with assertions about how Group A performs relative to Group B. The definition of the groups is usually seen as unproblematic and the relationships between the groups hardly explored. As an example of the first issue, it may be useful to cite the use (and abuse) of the term «working class child». Within Europe the term may be defined in different terms of each state's national statistics, and within the academic literature the range of usage is, if anything, even wider. For example, is the term «working class» defined in terms of relationships with the means of production or is it defined in terms of status, income or some other term or combination of terms? The differences are crucial if any worthwhile national or even intranational comparisons are to be made. More important still, policy informed by one definition that relies on data and recommendations based on another definition is more than likely to be ineffective.

A further example, and one that is particularly pertinent to the issues under discussion in this book, is that of «minority group». A definition is offered at the beginning of Part Two but it is not one that all the papers follow. Many of the contributions also use the terms «black» as if its use were unproblematic. Although it would seem to include people whose origins were in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean without too much dispute, the definition becomes more difficult to gain purchase on if applied to people whose origins are in South Asia, North Africa, South East Asia

or Turkey. Even when defined in terms of a common experience of oppression under colonialism the term has difficulties. What exactly is a «common» experience? The implication that the experience of colonialism was of an inherently similar nature does not stand up under empirical investigation. European non-territorial minorities would, however, correctly claim a common, albeit disparate experience of racism. In a similar fashion, the educational consequences of such racism would have both common and differing features, with obvious implications for policy, as many of the papers in this book make clear.

Similar difficulties arise with many of the other terms used to define non-territorial minority groups used throughout the papers in this book. Although many of the nuances may be lost in translation, terms like «foreigner» or «alien» have a clear implication of exclusion from the main body of the nation. Even a more innocuous term like ethnic group poses difficulties.

It becomes especially suspect when used in contrast to a national group, eg «ethnic» students as opposed to «British», «German» or «Dutch» students. There are two worrying assumptions here; firstly, that such students are not members of an ethnic group and secondly that the term «British» or «German» or «Dutch» implies a norm, albeit undefined, from which other ethnic groups deviate. A further worry is that ethnic descriptions carry along with them not merely a description of origin, eg West Indian, Molluccan etc, but also an implication of what can best be termed ultimate, national affiliation, ie that such groups are «not really» British, Dutch, German (or whatever) but belong elsewhere.

If groups have to be clearly and precisely defined, the relationships between them need the same careful analysis. The educational consequences of being of Turkish origin and/or working class (however defined) and/or female are difficult but important to disentangle. Factors relating to visibility (or «race»), religion and language are also of considerable significance. This seeming pedantry is crucial. If the education system perceives group disadvantage, it is crucial to pinpoint the factors that relate to it. Thus to combat racism in education effectively it is important to clarify the modes by which it is transmitted and reproduced. The papers relating to individual curriculum areas later on in the book indicate some of these complexities and interpenetrations.

Just as the concept of groups needs clarification, so it is with concepts relating to the evaluation of the educational process. The drive for greater equality of educational outcomes, however desirable, needs a greater degree of operationalisation than it is often given. Often educational outcomes are seen in individualistic terms,

eg the individual child's successful (or otherwise) progress through the schooling system. Such educational success is seen in terms of aspects of schooling like academic achievement, aesthetic, moral and physical development and so on. If a group's educational outcomes are examined it is likely to be in similar terms. However, although agreement may be reached on the desirability of equalising such outcomes, three obvious difficulties then arise.

1. How are the various criteria weighted one against the other? Ie is a child or group's moral and social development more important than its physical development? It is likely that each national education system weights these factors differently, and within a national system various groups will also weight them in a different manner. A common example in most of Western Europe is the emphasis that should be given to moral/religious development.

2. Differences in priority may disguise a second issue, namely the commonality or otherwise of an understanding of the criteria used, eg should an outcome of schooling be the acquisition of a co-operative or a competitive spirit or some combination of both?

3. How far can a schooling system, however it defines its outcomes, relate these to the individual child or group's later position in the labour market? In Part Two we assert that schooling does little to alter the subordinate position of non-territorially based minority groups in Europe in the increasingly credential-orientated labour market.

Whichever theoretical position is adopted in an attempt to explain this, and there are many, the evidence does indicate that schooling usually confirms status and/or position rather than alters it. We stress the word «usually», considering that rigid correspondence theories fail to explain exceptions, ignore pupil and group responses to their education and assert that schooling can do little to change the state of affairs. It is hoped that the curriculum papers in this book help in the refutation of such rigid over-simplifications of the schooling process.

Although we would assert that there are serious difficulties in clarifying the nature of equality of educational outcomes, it is possible. Moreover, as subsequent papers show, there is sufficient common ground between most of the theoretical stances adopted by the writers to make progress possible.

Thus, the concept of intercultural education poses hard questions, not only about the nature of culture and cultural groups, but about the assessment of the process of education itself. If the cultural and group inequalities that have been discussed are to be diminished, it has serious implications for current educational structures and practices which sustain the current undesirable state of affairs.

Proper intercultural education attempts this. It sees the coming together of cultures in Europe as a means by which individual cultures are not only changed, but more importantly, a means by which unequal socio/cultural relations within and between nation states can also be changed. It accepts that educational institutions are part of a wider social structure that at present does little to combat racism and its socio-economic consequences but suggests that at least educational practice can change. And in so doing, challenging such inequalities, intercultural education can play a significant part in bringing about wider social change that has as its objective greater equality and social justice.

To do all this is a difficult and complex task. The Council of Ministers' statement mentioned in ROLANDI RICCI's paper goes some way to accepting this position and working out subsequent implications for practice. However, to do all this successfully the context within which education takes place needs to be more clearly understood so it is to an analysis of the educational context that we turn in the Part Two.

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PART TWO: THE CONTEXT OF THE INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM

Introduction

The school curriculum does not exist in a social vacuum any more than do schools. Because the main purpose of this book is to gain a wider audience for a range of exciting and innovatory intercultural curriculum theory and practice, discussion of the context in which such theory and practice is embedded has of necessity to be briefer than its importance would suggest.

For the Conference, Professor James Lynch was asked to prepare a paper to give an overview of this complex area. His comprehensive yet succint paper is at the end of this section. However, as Lynch would be the first to admit, we still know surprisingly little as educators about the view of schooling and the curriculum of many members of the non-territorial minority groups. As Godfrey Brandt claims:

> As a result of the racism in education and the racist and biased ideologies which have been dominant, all or most of the research and publications that have been done and written have been presented in such a way as to make the black pupils a problem for the educational system as opposed to presenting an education system that is problematic; that is racist, mono-cultural and ipso facto, demeaning, thus resulting in failure, disenchantment and therefore active resistance.

At the Conference a series of papers were presented in an attempt to give greater insight into this so far under explored area. These would make a book in themselves. In the limited space available to us we have attempted to indicate the range and force of the arguments being put forward by non-territorial minorities and the importance of these perspectives for all who are engaged in shaping new curriculum practice.

The New Europe

> The communities of settlers know how they have been used by European states which have then every intention of hypocritically and cynically dismissing them. Many have fought in colonial wars, and the Second World War, and were subsequently involved in creating the economic boom. Now, they are faced with demands that they should be sent «home».
>
> (GUNDARA, J)

Much of Europe in 1945 was in ruins. The extreme nationalism of fascism had been defeated and, it was thought at the time, discredited. But in order to defeat fascism,

nationalism had also been used, albeit a nationalism of a different order. Although Europe as an historical and geographical entity was a long standing concept, it was still divided into nation states with a strong sense of their separation and distance from other European nation states. Some of the boundaries shifted in the period after 1945, as indeed they had done often before, but the dominant unit still remained the nation state. Domination of the smaller states by a few «superpowers» seemed new but in fact was not. What was new was that the new superpowers were no longer exclusively European.

Within this new Europe there were voices looking for a breaking down of national, nationalistic boundaries. The gradual and often reluctant ending of colonialism in Europe's overseas empires has been matched by gradual and, for some, equally reluctant moves towards European unity. In Western Europe, the EEC is perhaps the best example of both the new spirit of co-operation and the powerful continuation of older values of competitive nation state nationalism.

However, as many European begin to feel a sense of European unity, the context has already changed to make many of their value systems not only archaic, but potentially harmful. Thus we have the reaffirmation of the Europe of Beethoven, Dante, Rembrandt and Shakespeare at a time when Europe's cultural heritage has become international. It is as if many of us have slowly and reluctantly discovered ourselves as Europeans only to find the Europe that we have created has disappeared into history, if indeed, it ever existed. Part of the explanation for this is due to the changed nature of Europe's people, part of it the continuing power of the myth of the unitary nation state. Although the primary emphasis here is on the former point, it can best be understood in the light of a greater understanding of the latter, namely the mythical unitary nation state.

The modern state is a bringing together, often without consent of a variety of small-scale societies. Such small scale societies were, and often still are, characterised by having a unity of language, religious belief, territory, historical experience and kinship. «Kith and kin», now often a catchword for racists, was a unifying force in such small-scale societies. The significant point about such characteristics is that they are seen as holding true for nation states, which is patently seldon the case. The consequences of the artificial partition of Africa by the European colonial powers has clearly demonstrated, in the years since independence, the essentially disparate nature of the modern nation state. The rise of fascism in Europe was predicated upon the small-scale society concept with horrific consequences. Yet,

despite the defeat of fascism, the idea of the unitary state still retains power and influence all over Europe. Within this mental framework, the presence in Western Europe of groups of people who are perceived as visibly different is seen as a «problem». So deeply rooted is this dismissal and distrust of diversity that attempts to change things are immensely difficult. Moreover, as will be discussed later, the economic circumstances that have led to the current diversity have also done little to combat such views. Indeed, it can be argued that these socio-economic factors sustain them.

This is not a new issue. Territorially based minorities in Europe (such as the Basques and the Welsh) have long been oppressed by the nation states in which they are located. This response to oppression has often been one of nationalistic antagonism, which may easily become a chauvinistic parochialism. However, the fact of the territorial base makes their position significantly different from those minorities without one. Few doubt that they belong; their feeling of oppression is based on other factors, principally linguistic, cultural, religious and economic. For the other minorities, who share these oppressions, a further one is added. This is the widely held view that these minorities not only do not belong but should not be in Europe. They are certainly not regarded by many as Europeans, however loosely that term is conceptualised. As GUNDARA observes:

> In fact, few European governments have provided any of the newly settled communities with confidence of their place in European societies.

Yet, as the Oxford dictionary says, a European is a «native or inhabitant of Europe». The new minorities are increasingly both. An educational consequence of this requires that we ask to what extent the formal schooling system of Europe confirms or denies this state of affairs. It is our view that little confirmation occurs.

Europe, Migration and Settlement

One of the reasons why so little is done in social policy in general and education in particular, is because the nature and purpose of changes within the demography of Europe over the last forty years are so little known. This crucially important European event is seldom dealt with adequately in the history curriculum, or indeed, as the papers in this book make clear, in any other relevant area of the curriculum. As a major sustainer of racism, prejudice and discrimination against these Europeans is the belief that such people came solely to benefit themselves and their families, it is important to have some understanding of the theoretical explanations that have been attempted in relation to this phenomena. The first of these is perhaps also the most simple, namely the exploration of push/pull factors in migration. People leave their native land for a variety of reasons, but for many of the people who came into Western Europe in the post-war period, the «push» factor was crucial.

This factor has many aspects, the political and the economic perhaps being the most important. Some examples of these may be helpful.

The re-drawing of national boundaries in Europe after the war and the division of Europe into East and West led to the movement of large numbers of people seeking to escape what they perceived as a new form of political, economic or national domination. This process still continues, albeit on a small-scale and, more international scale. Recent examples would include people from Iran and Vietnam.

Perhaps more significant «push» factors were the economic conditions in many of the countries from which people came. The underdeveloped South of Europe and the ex-colonies of European states are two obvious examples. With little hope of economic advancement, many of the more adventurous left to avoid economic stagnation or impoverishment. The hope was that enough money would be gained to secure a reinsertion into their home economy on more advantageous terms. This future hope has been called «the myth of return», because it seldom happens, for a variety of reasons. Amongst the most significant of these is the position of the initial migrant's children, educated and schooled in their parents' new country. Although often marginalised, it is marginalisation in a country which is, to all intents and purposes, their «native» land. Changes in nationality, residence and employment laws may increase their marginalisation and alienation but cannot change that basic fact.

«Pull» factors are often the other side of the same coin. With little prospect for economic and/or political advancement in their home countries, the prosperous cities of North-West Europe have acted like magnets. As these cities' economies recovered from the ravages of the war they boomed and prospered. The major inhibitor to this growth was a marked lack of unskilled labour. With little or no spare capacity in the domestic employment market there was open recruitment of labour from other, less prosperous countries. For example, Britain recruited in the Caribbean; France in North Africa; the Federal Republic of Germany in Turkey. Many states also actively encourage migration from the poorer agrarian South of Europe, most notably Yugoslavia, Southern Italy, Spain and Portugal. The employers' organisations in the receiving countries were enthusiastic, organised labour less so. This has often been taken, erroneously, as indicating the greater liberalism of the middle and upper classes. Rather more it expressed their delight in acquiring a seemingly pliant and cheap work force to set against the more active and organised working classes already in employment.

In support of the importance of «pull» factors, patterns of immigration have tended to follow the economic ups and downs of the receiving country's economy rather than those of the immigrants own country. As Lynch's paper indicates, the number of migrants within Europe has declined rapidly since the onset of the current economic recession.

However, despite the desire on the part of the receiving countries that these post-war migrants should remain just that, ie migrants, what has actually occurred is very different. When the migrants first arrived they were all potential workers. With the arrival of their families and the subsequent growth of families, the younger members of which were born, brought up and educated in the receiving countries, a change took place. The young, and increasingly their migrant parents, no longer considered their stay a temporary affair, despite considerable official and unofficial efforts to persuade them to the contrary. Contributing to this feeling was the fact that many of the people were not in fact migrants but were settlers with similar legal rights to the existing population.

This state of affairs related to the fact that during the period in question, many of the receiving European countries were seeing the end of their colonial «empires». The rise of anti-colonial nationalism throughout the world in the post-war period, fuelled and supported by a complex web of factors, was, in the main, resisted by the colonial powers. (This is not to denigrate the support for independence struggles from within the colonising countries). As part of the rear guard action against this decolonisation movement, several colonial powers extended citizenship to their overseas colonies, in an attempt to build up a common sense of belonging. For Britain, the move was from Empire to Commonwealth, for France to overseas Departments which amongst other things, returned members to the National Assembly. Variations on these policies were put into effect by other European colonial states. The hope was to bind the colonies to the metropolis. What was <u>not</u> intended was the subsequent movement of colonial or ex-colonial people to Europe. (Movement in other direction was however encouraged, to countries like Algeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, with disastrous consequences in subsequent years. In other words, white people running black countries was acceptable and desirable, the reverse unthinkable). Indeed, as the <u>Donk</u> paper reveals, initial migration into the Netherlands of Surinamese people was comparatively uneventful. When more visibly different groups started to settle the situation changed. A similar pattern can be seen in many of the other countries under discussion. Even now, for example the immigration into Britain of white people from say, Zimbabwe, causes little comment. It is quite clear that the «immigration» debate in Britain is not about immigration per se but about the immigration of black people.

Buttressing all this was the racist belief that black people were not only incapable of controlling their own affairs but were also innately inferior. Given the traumatic consequences to Europe of the active propagation of similar views in the period to 1945, it is perhaps surprising that racist beliefs, albeit in the main directed against other groups should have held such ground. The truth of the matter, however, is that racism was and remains endemic in all European states albeit in different forms.

The ending of colonialism did not stop the movement of people to their former colonising states. Independence for many ex-colonies resulted in further immigration in Europe, often of displaced groups from the newly independent countries. Initially such groups were principally white ex-settlers, but other groups, like the Ugandan Asians were to follow. Groups like the first were seldom cause for comment but the second type most certainly were. It was no coincidence that most groups of the second type, despite often having nominal citizenship of the colonising nation, were not white.

At present schooling does little to correct the impression that the movement and subsequent settlement in Europe of the non-territorial minorities is more than an arbitrary and undesirable occurrence. Understanding of these concepts should underpin much if not all of our curriculum. In addition, the detailed development of them should be the concern of individual curriculum areas. However, up to now, educational responses to migration has shown little evidence of this. This view is shared by many others concerned in the area, and is the subject of the next section.

Education, Migration and Inequality

Many of the newly arriving non-territorial minorities had high hopes of the educational paths that their children would follow. As Ali Ucar noted, in reference to the Federal Republic,

> Nevertheless the immigrant family has great expectations for the future. In the hope of rising up the social ladder, of social security, they are almost ready to do anything that will help. They have a great interest in a good education for their children but they cannot give them the necessary help for it. For the «historical leap» which they have made by emigrating, has remained an external thing; the development and adjustment of the personality of their people lags behind the external demands of the industrial society. That is why the migrant family is very weak in its inner and external relationships. Their isolation and discrimination in

> migration conditions influence decisively their experiences, their knowledge, and the quality of their analysis of the foreign world, ie they gain all their experiences and insights from the perspectives of their social positions.

He stresses the inadequate and often overpowering environment within which such people have to struggle to bring up their children.

> In extremely cramped living conditions children have no scope for action, no peace in which to be busy, to play, to race around, to fulfil the needs for motor activity, since the flats are only set up to cater for the needs of adults: eating, resting, sleeping. Playing is forbidden on the stairs and in the yard, it is too dangerous to play in the street and the nearest play area is, frequently, above all for the smaller children, too far way.

GUNDARA takes up this point, but further links it with schooling, and, perhaps optimistically, sees in these conditions, the foundation of a liberating force,

> It is important to mention that while the parents on arrival to Europe accepted low level jobs they had at least expected that their children would have a choice of employment through the educational route. These parents have now observed a calamity of major proportions in terms of their children. Not only have these families seen their dreams shrink but they have become embittered and angered by the callous neglect and overt discrimination. Moreover, the young only have metropolitan experiences and therefore have a consciousness which is conditioned by this experience. Although their specific consciousnesses will be different across many European states, the basis for political militancy are clearly visible across the horizon.

Government reports across Europe reveal the second class routes through, and qualifications (if any) received by many non-territorial minority children. Governments appear to care and to innovate, but too often it is inadequate. As OTTO MATULESSY states with reference to Moluccans in the Netherlands,

> The history of our first twenty-eight years in the Netherlands has taught us to expect very little from such schools.

In other words, although the strategies that could be adopted are known, it is at the level of implementation that action is lacking. BRANDT is quite clear on this, particularly in relation to the all pervading influence of racism,

> Yet there is only a limited group of educationalists that actually acknowledge in any real way the important role played by racism in providing an inadequate education for black youth as well as in their allocation in the labour force on leaving school. It is in this shift that the anti-racist discourse now emerging in educational theory and research, is born.

Amadeu BATEL, whilst acknowledging the influence of racism, also attacks the compensatory pedagogy that has often been adopted, the idea of fitting the child to the school, rather than the other way round. He argues,

> It is time to introduce in the Swedish school a new pedagogy, a pedagogy that accepts differences and stops the perpetuation of a compensatory pedagogy. Immigrant children cannot for ever become a target for compensatory measures and be treated differently. They have the right to equal treatment and the right to attain school and social success.

Yet as UCAR noted, the opposition to such sensible moves can be intense, for,

> The illusion is spreading in many schools that the school would be better and more bearable if there were not foreign children; therefore prejudices and racial hatred gain a foothold.

On a more hopeful note, the Conference and the papers that follow in this book indicate that progress is slowly being made. The problem is that slow progress is viewed very differently if you or your family are on the receiving end. What is urgently needed is not just a greater commitment on the part of all educators but a far greater sense of urgency. Without it, another decade will have gone by with little significant change in the education that we provide for all our children.

REFERENCES

(1) The papers were:

GUNDARA, J	Migration and Settlement in Western Europe
UCAR, A	Educational Problems of the Minorities in the Federal Republic of Germany
BRANDT, G	Intercultural Education as «Immigrant Education» - A Consumer Perspective
BATEL, A	Some Aspects of Home Language Education in Sweden
MATULESSY, G	Education and Moluccans

Although the majority of the papers were concerned with the educational fate of a specific minority group, others gave a more general overview of the position in Europe generally. All the papers shared the view that those in control of the national educational system have done little to ease the educational plight of minorities and that the context within which schooling takes place is one that is, in general, inimical to the progress of non-territorial minority children.

Jagdish GUNDARA's paper looked at the position of the non-territorial minorities in Europe and saw their recent history as being one of exploitation and oppression. Nor is this anything new, for in his analysis of the European state, he claims that exploitation of minorities has been a continual phenomena. Towards the end of the paper he indicates that resistance by such oppressed groups offers hope for the future.

This last point is developed in Godffrey BRANDT's paper. After a brief comparative survey of educational practice in three European states, he critically examines the nature of the current unequal relationships between groups. Further educational progress is unlikely unless these relationships are both better understood and challenged in a more systematic manner.

Amadeu BATEL looked specifically at the situation in Sweden. His analysis indicates that however well intentioned policies may be, failure to provide adequate resources, especially in the area of in-service training, means that little real improvement can take place.

A similar concern for changes in policy permeated Otto MATULESSY's paper on Moluccans in the Dutch educational system. Such changing policies and inadequate resources continue to disadvantage Moluccan children in the educational system despite the rhetoric of concern.

Finally, Ali UCAR's paper on Turkish families in the Federal Republic of Germany made distressingly clear the consequences of exploitation and xenophobia on Turkish children and their families. Within this oppressive context, he claims, education does little save confirm their marginalised position within the Federal Republic of Germany.

Contact addresses for these authors are given in Appendix I.

INTERCULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM: THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT IN EUROPE (1)

James LYNCH

Historically, there would appear to be three major contextual influences which set the scene for current perceptions of cultural pluralism and an educational response to that pluralism in the continent of Europe. Two are rather more longstanding and the other is, relatively speaking, recent. The first of these is the early patchwork settlement of Europe by different linguistic and in some cases ethnic groups and the second is the later equally varied religious overlay. Concerning the former, the pattern of settlement was such that, when they emerged, no nation state in Europe was monolingual and some were manifestly and boldly, officially bilingual, trilingual and in the case of Switzerland quadrilingual. Even in those cases where nationalistic nation-states tried to enforce a rigidly monolingual policy as in Germany and France, large minorities retained their native language or dialect. To this day, to give a few examples, there are large Alsatian-speaking minorities in the East of France and Breton-speakers in the West. There are German-speakers in French Belgium and Danish-speakers in Northern Germany. There are Swedish-speakers in Denmark and Wends in East Germany. There are French, Ladin, Friulian and German speakers in Northern Italy and Hungarian and Slovene speakers in Austria; Basque-speakers in France and Spain and Gaelic and Welsh speakers in the United Kingdom; Albanians in Yugoslavia and Greeks in Albania.

In terms of religion, the Reformation superimposed on the linguistic, ethnic and political maps of Europe a further plane of cultural complexity, whilst in Southern Europe in particular large areas already owed their religious allegiance more to Byzantium and Islam than to Rome or Geneva. The ethnic dimension can be equally diffused as in the case of the Lapps of Scandinavia, nomadic groups such as the Romanies, the Irish travellers and the Quinquis of Spain (2). The profusion of overlaying factors is never contained within one nation state and the result is a kaleidoscope of confusing variety. And so one could continue, were the point not already made, that ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious boundaries almost never coincide with the boundaries of the modern European nation state in the way in which they may do elsewhere. From the beginning such states were culturally pluralist, although structurally and often educationally monolithic.

The third major precursor has been brought about rather more by economic than historical and political factors, although the latter (including political motivation) should not be underestimated (3). Notwithstanding substantial immigration to some countries in the nineteenth century and later, (4) the post-second World War scene saw the major economies ever more hungry for workers as the post-war economic miracle of Western Europe «boomed». The «white-hot» economic activity

drew large numbers of migrant workers first from colonies and former colonies, from Southern Europe and then from round the globe. In some cases, these immigrants came from former colonial possessions, as in the case of the United Kingdom, France and to a certain degree Belgium and the Netherlands. In the case of the United Kingdom, large numbers of citizens of the Irish Republic continued to arrive throughout the post-war period making them the largest immigrant group in the country. In the early post-war period, millions of inhabitants of former German territories arrived in West Germany and many more came from the People's Republic of East Germany.

In some cases, the migrant workers came from the poorer regions of Europe and were regarded as relatively easily assimilable. Later they came from further afield, the Near East, Africa, the Phillipines, the West Indies, the Indian subcontinent etc. Millions of «migrant» workers arrived in the major economic centres of Western Europe in the decades up to 1980 and estimates place the numbers of migrant workers and their families in the European Economic Community countries at a peak of approximately 15 million in 1981 with countries such as France and West Germany having each in excess of four millions (5). Since that time numbers appear to have declined as a consequence of the recession and, in 1984, there were estimated to be six million migrant workers in the states of the European Economic Community. With their families the figure rises to 12 million, of whom approximately 73% were from outside the community (6).

Whether, in the first stage of migration, they came with the intention of staying or bringing their families, as was often the case in the United Kingdom, where migration was always more permanent and family-based, those immigrant workers who came alone, gradually wanted to settle down, bring their families to join them, to marry and raise their families. Few of them wanted to return home and this second stage of familial settlement led automatically to the maturation of the immigration process (7). In some countries, for instance the United Kingdom, nationality laws meant that they either were already, or could rapidly become, citizens of their new home country.

The educational responses mounted to respond to successive phases of migration were as varied as the reasons and sources of that migration. In some cases, the new settlers could be easily assimilated into existing provision: such was the case with the Irish and the Volksdeutschen. In other cases, parallel education systems were set up. In others still attempts at automatic assimilation were made and failed. Watson has suggested a three-part grouping of policy approaches to the provision of multicultural education: countries with a long-standing racial and cultural mix such as the Soviet Union;

countries with a cultural mix as a result of colonialism eg the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands; and thirdly, countries which have become multicultural and multiracial as a result of voluntary immigration eg West Germany (8). These differences have resulted in different conceptualisations and apprehensions of cultural pluralism and therefore also different educational responses. In mainland Europe, for example, policies have been focussed on the education of migrant children who are foreigners in their country of residence; in the United Kingdom, on the other hand, the migrant children are, in the majority, full British citizens or analogue British citizens as in the case of the Irish.

In response to the complexity of the social and educational problems associated with the above picture, overarching educational initiatives have been attempted at three major levels: international; for instance, through such bodies as the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, the Council of Europe and the European Economic Community; national, including bilateral country-to-country measures and agreements, and local and regional. Until the late 1970s such measures as were introduced were envisaged in most cases as relating to the needs of children of foreign migrant workers, who were regarded predominantly as temporary non-citizens, who would eventually wish to return home to their country of origin. In the event, their labour has become a structural feature of the economies of the countries where they settled.

There was little linkage with the issues surrounding the so-called indigenous minorities referred to above, and only in the late 1970s and 1980s has a slightly broader conceptualisation such as intercultural education in France, the Netherlands and West Germany or multicultural education, in the United Kingdom, been applied to the issue. The major assumption was that insofar as the migrants were citizens, for instance, in the United Kingdom, they would be assimilated, and insofar as they were not citizens, they could thus be dealt with on a basis of cultural, social and educational special provisions, as in West Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. In any case the cultural adjustment was expected exclusively of the newly arrived minority and little or no concession was made for their cultural traditions and values in the formal state systems of education. Where dimensions from the minority culture entered the school arena, it was at the level of a folksy tokenism, of life styles rather than life chances.

The upshot of this «tunnel vision» of the new settlers was that few concessions were made to children different languages and cultures: special instruction in the language of the host country in school arose and sometimes for adult workers and more gradually systems for the maintenance of links with the language and culture of origin. Foreign teachers were recruited by the host countries for up to six years to teach the children of their own nationality and language either as part of the normal school curriculum or as separate provision outside normal school hours, sometimes in school premises and sometimes not. Belgium, France, some West German states, and, to a limited extent in the case of the consular-provided Italian teachers for outside school classes, the United Kingdom, adopted this approach. Some states, the Netherlands, Sweden and some parts of West Germany have recruited such teachers mainly from among their own migrant communities.

Furthermore, the historical boundaries referred to earlier in this paper, political, linguistic and religious have acted as almost impermeable membranes to contain the way in which the issues surrounding the establishment and growth of new ethnic minority communities have been seen, conceptualised and responded to. The corollary of this encapsulated approach has been that there has been little or no interchange of ideas, policies or findings across those boundaries except as developed more recently by international organisations. Where it has commenced at all, conceptualisation of intercultural or multicultural education has taken place within a predominantly ethnocentric cocoon and within states such as Belgium, where there is deep linguistic division woven into the very fabric of society, each linguistic group has adopted its own measures and there has been relatively little interchange, even knowledge of how the other half has worked. This has probably impoverished developments and may have led to scarce resources becoming scarcer as each political, linguistic and religious host group has tended to «rediscover the wheel».

In the early 1970s a gradual change started to occur, partly in the first instance, as a result of the oil crisis and economic recession. As long as labour demand had remained high, issues of the permanency of settlement, of the need to live together in cultural diversity and social harmony within the same nation state, of what kind of educational provision was now appropriate to the new pluralist cultural mosaique of society, had remained masked. As a result of the economic upheavals of the early 1970s, however, the tide of immigration halted, as in France. In other cases, as in West Germany, it even reversed for a few years, encouraged by payments to induce migrants to return to their country of origin. In

some countries, in these years, great damage was done to race relations by hasty policies on nationality and immigration, accentuated by the uneven social and economic settlement of the new arrivals, their often political and educational «naivety» and their frequently rural backgrounds.

Into this scene a number of supranational initiatives began gradually to be injected. Already in 1972, the Council of Europe had commenced its support for experimental classes for the children of migrant workers aimed at integrating them into the school system and the general environment of the host country. A School Career and Health Record, on a simplified and uniform basis was also designed, recommended to member countries and implemented on an experimental basis in some cases. In 1977 the Council for Cultural Co-operation launched a four year programme for the training of teachers in charge of migrant children and experts initiated pilot experiments in six member countries. Experimental INSET projects were offered in 1979/80 and three pilot language projects were launched in 1978 (9). An ad hoc Conference of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, meeting in Strasbourg in 1974, met on the education of migrants and, in particular, opportunities for vocational and technical training and education for adults and adolescents (10). Already in 1968, the Ministers' Deputies had adopted a resolution encouraging member governments to make greater efforts to enable migrant workers to learn the language of the reception country and the Conference of European Ministers of Labour had resolved in Rome in 1972 to recommend further initiatives in the field of migrant workers education and training, to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, including pre-departure language instruction.

The ad hoc Conference of 1974 focussed on three topics:

a. the situation of the immigrant and his family on arrival in the host country;

b. measures to guarantee satisfactory education both before and during compulsory schooling in the host country; and

c. action to give adult and teenage immigrants satisfactory opportunities for technical and vocational training and general education (11).

The Ninth Session of the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education meeting in Stockholm, from 9-12 June 1975, endorsed the vast majority of the conclusions and recommendations of the Strasbourg meeting, and a group of experts was appointed to carry out a programme comprising a number of interrelated aspects. The consequent emphasis of what has come to be known as Resolution No. 2 (1975) on Migrant Education was then significantly tailored to:

a. promoting access to education and equality of opportunity;

b. guaranteeing continuing biculturalism in host and sending country culture and language; and

c. moving forward from the place of analysis to implementation and application of practical measures on behalf of migrants and their families (12).

The resolutions and emphases of the 1974 meeting were then re-echoed in subsequent meetings* in Oslo (13-15 June 1976) for example in Resolution 8, at the 1978 Athens Conference of European Ministers in Resolution No. 5, which encouraged participating countries to facilitate the maintenance of migrant workers and their families with their national culture and in the annual experimental classes organised every year by the Council of Europe (13).

The work of the group appointed consequent on the 1975 meeting in Stockholm had five major phases: the analysis of a few significant pilot projects in several countries in the field of teacher training and the preparation of a consolidated report by Mr Louis PORCHER, a member of the group (14); the production for training centres and teachers of a number of dossiers containing information about «migrant-receiving» and «migrant-sending» countries (15); the launching of courses and pilot projects for the promotion of appropriate teacher training (eg training seminars in inter-cultural teaching); the pilot production of teaching materials; and, the compilation of a compendium of independent schemes, not directly related to the Council of Europe, but carried out using an intercultural approach (16).

Parallel to these initiatives, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and of the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE) had begun to concentrate attention on second generation migrants, advocating a series of specific measures in relation to them. Recommendation 841 of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly recommended the preparation and implementation of a series of co-ordinated measures to provide better protection for second generation migrants, including continuation of the periodic assessment of action taken, by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, giving priority to pedagogic problems involved in the education of children and young persons and promoting the training of teachers for the education of migrant children and young persons (17).

(*) - ad hoc Conference of European Ministers with responsibility for cultural affairs (Oslo, 15-17 June 1976)

- second Conference of European Ministers responsible for cultural affairs (Athens, 24-26 June 1978)

The efforts of the Conference of Local Authorities (CLRAE) emphasise the cultural policy of regions and municipalities and the teaching of language and bilingual education. In particular it has emphasised the role of practical measures, such as library provision, in the maintenance of links between migrants and their countries of origin (18).

The Council of Europe, through the Working Party mentioned above, has devoted a number of its European seminars for teachers at Donaueschingen in the Federal Republic of Germany to the training of teachers in the education of migrant children (19) and courses and symposia have been organised at Lisbon in September 1981 and L'Aquila in 1982. A Teachers Guide to Intercultural Education is to be published at the end of 1986.

From 1980, Project No. 7 was launched with an expected duration of five years and committed to concentrating from an intercultural perspective on the relationship:

- between the school system and its immediate environment;
- between the cultural activities in the school and outside the school;
- between children's education and adult education (20).

The Project Group has adopted several different methods of work including case studies and studies, visits to projects, the production of materials and colloquy meetings, of which there have been two: both in Strasbourg, one in December 1981 and one in January 1983. In addition, there have been a number of meetings of both the «restricted group» and the full project group (21).

In the Council of Europe's programme activities and projects multicultural is seen as a factual description of the cultural situation and intercultural as the pedagogic and other action which is taken in response to it. The main lines of such an intercultural education are seen as:

- the fundamental principle and aim underlying all school activity;
- whose field of reference is the real-life experience of children in the host country;
- the broadening of existing concerns rather than the substitution of new educational targets for the basic functions of teaching in the school;
- an emphasis on the mutual influence of culture of origin and host culture on each other;

- an acceptance of the new dynamic and shifting cultural situation arising from migration;

- a re-examination, revision and broadening of the socio-centric and ethnocentric standards of the school, going beyond its narrow framework (22);

- a broader scope embracing education and culture, children and adults;

- a tool to evaluate life-chances and to achieve an optimum of social and economic integration.

Interculturalism is seen by the Group as possessing a common core of features universally accepted, comprising: diversity as the overriding factor, identical features, the importance of interrelationships, theory and practice, values and outlooks, instrumental requirements, and migration as a total phenomenon.

As well as the projects described above the Division for Higher Education and Research of the Council of Europe approved a programme of activities on Multicultural Studies in Higher Education with commencement in April 1981. A preparatory workshop has been held in Keele in October 1983 and modules are in preparation, including in the field of teacher education, for initial presentation in Fribourg, Switzerland in November 1984.

In the case of the European Economic Community (EEC) and with the exception of Council Regulation EEC No. 1612 of 1968, the major initiatives have also emerged from the mid 1970s. From that period come two major action programme initiatives concerned with, in the one case, migrant workers and their families (a Social Action Programme was embarked on in 1974) and in the other, education with the influential Directive on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers on 25 July 1977, coming into effect on 25 July 1981 (23)

The three objectives laid down by the Directive were:

- to provide tuition to facilitate initial reception including in particular intensive teaching of the language of the host country;

- to provide training and further training of teachers responsible for the children of migrant workers;

- to promote the teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin.

Directives are binding on member States, although the means and mode of implementation are a matter for national authorities, and in this case there is the qualification that it shall take effect «in accordance with (the member States) national circumstances and legal systems» (24). In spite of four years notice of the Directive taking effect, it is clear that some countries such as the United Kingdom, have been sluggish and tardy in planning action, whilst others, such as Belgium, may be in direct legal and practical conflict with the Directive.

In accordance with Article 5 of the Directive, and based on information provided by individual governments, a report on the progress of implementation up to March 1983 was presented by the Commission to the Council in February 1984 (25). Although the report indicates noteworthy progress in some areas in some countries and there is no doubt that considerable progress has been achieved in the lifetime of the Directive, there are also areas of continued inadequacy which must be cause for grave concern. Exemplary cases of such «lacunae» are the lack of any formal provision of either initial or in-service training for teachers of the children of migrant workers in Belgium, the very high representation of migrant children in special education in France and the minimal provision of mother tongue teaching with the exception of Italian, the total lack of initial further or in-service training for Italian teachers having foreign pupils in their classes in Italy, the manifest inadequacy of in-service training in Luxembourg, and the fact that only 2.2% of pupils whose first language is not English receive integrated tuition in the language and culture of origin in the United Kingdom.

In terms of action programmes, the Resolution of 21 January 1974 concerned migrant workers and their families, and the Council Resolution of 9 February 1976 defined measures adopted by the Ministers of Education in the field of education, in which member States undertook to develop reception education, including intensive teaching of the language or languages of the host country, to facilitate mother tongue teaching and to develop information for families on the training and educational opportunities available to them.

In the furtherance of these objectives, the Commission has organised exchanges of information through meetings of experts, conferences, seminars for representatives of national ministries and media experts, studies such as that conducted in 1975/76 by AIMAV, and International Association for Applied Linguistics and the adaptation of a language test for foreign children completed by an organisation called CITO in Arnhem. Five studies of educational and vocational guidance methods for foreign children have also been developed in Bradford, Brussels, Liège, Mönchengladbach and Roubaix. Then in September 1976, the Commission lauched a series of pilot schemes on teacher training, reception methods, teaching of the language and culture of origin and the

presentation and distribution of teaching materials. Innovations in the field of teacher training took place in France, in connection with the Ministry of Education, CREDIF (Study and Research Centre for the Dissemination of the French language) and the CEFISEM (Centres for the Training and Information of Staff involved in Teaching Migrant Children) at Douai, Grenoble, Lyon and latterly Metz; in Brussels and in Northrhine Westphalia, this latter organised by the so-called ALFA Group (Training of Teachers for Work with Foreign Children (26).

In the field of teaching methods used in reception centres, projects were carried out in Holland, in Winterslag, from 1976 to 1979 and in Enschede from 1979; in Luxembourg from 1978 and in Denmark, in Odense from 1978/81. Concerning intercultural education, an initial pilot scheme was organised in the language and culture of origin in Paris from 1976-79 and, as a follow-up to the Paris scheme, in Marseille from September 1979. Similar projects were launched in Bedford, England from 1976/80, in Limbourg from 1976/79 and in London in 1980/81. The work on the production and distribution of educational material has been conducted with Commission support by the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana (27).

Some of the work mentioned above has been evaluated by teams of international experts commissioned by the EEC. In 1978 the ALFA Group, referred to above, comprising staff from the University of Essen and the College of Education in Landau were requested to carry out a comparative study of the pilot schemes in Paris, Bedford, Hasselt and Leiden with particular reference to the approach to reception methods and the teaching of the language and culture of origin. The Report was presented in 1980 and subsequently discussed by the Commission at a meeting of representatives of Ministries of Education and national experts (28). Translations of a summary were prepared in English.

In addition to these international initiatives, bilateral agreements have been concluded covering the provision of integrated provision in the language and culture of origin between Belgium and Italy, Greece, Turkey and Morocco; between Denmark and Yugoslavia; between Ireland and the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Norway and Spain, between Luxembourg and Italy, Portugal, Spain and Yugoslavia; between the Netherlands and Italy, Spain, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Morocco; and, between France and the United Kingdom and several countries. Joint committees have been established by several countries to assist in the education of migrant workers children and the recruitment, training and, in some cases, supervision and inspection of foreign teachers, and individual Embassies and Consulates are active, as in the United Kingdom and West Germany, in the provision of educational opportunities for the education of their nationals and co-culturalists (29).

Other international organisations, with a membership less exclusively European, have also been turning their attention increasingly to issues concerned with the education of migrants and the development of multicultural education. In the Spring of 1982, for example, the Governing Body of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) approved the Project on Education and Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism (ECALP), planned around two major aspects: special educational problems posed by the children of migrants and the problems arising in national education systems owing to the fact that cultural, linguistic and ethnic differences are permanent features. The project will make a contribution to the appraisal of whether the aims, thus far generally adopted with regard to migrants' children, have continued validity. The work has included the examination of documentation submitted by member countries, a detailed national and international statistical analysis of the situation of the schooling of migrants' children in the school system, both nationally and comparatively, the preparation of a broad overview of the policy issues, and a critical analysis of multicultural education policies (30).

Apart from these bilateral and supranational initiatives, individual countries have also developed extensive repertoires of special provision for curriculum development and the training of teachers for the task of working with migrant children. Some, for example, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany and the Netherlands, have even moved to the point where they are beginning to develop strategies of multicultural or intercultural education. Others, for example Sweden, have embraced principles of equality, partnership and freedom of cultural choice, which are exemplary (31). A few examples may illustrate the trends.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, which has approximately 7.57% of its population (1982) comprising «foreigners» and is currently adopting a series of restrictive measures to stem the growth, approximately 17% of the nursery school enrolments comprise children of foreign nationality, 12% of the primary enrolment and 2% of Gymnasien and 3.1% of Gesamtschulen and Realschulen. Almost one in ten of the children in special schools are also of foreign nationality and approximately half of these are Turkish and one in five Italian (32). The continuing dominance of the concept of «Ausländerpädagogik», which might be loosely translated as theory about the education of foreigners, (33) is probably understandable. However, programmes include mother tongue lessons, including bilingual classes, the maintenance of cultural links with the country of origin, the establishment of mixed-culture learning groups, the preparation of bilingual materials, the preparation of suitable mother tongue textbooks, the overall revision of

curricula and most recently proposals for making intercultural experiences an issue and topic of the pupil's everyday learning and extending intercultural experiences to all children foreign and German (34). All Provinces have either revised their examination regulations for teacher education or are in the process of doing so, in order that all initial teacher education includes a component on the education of migrant children, and some institutions of higher education, such as Oldenbourg in Lower Saxony, proposed the introduction of Diploma level studies in 1983 with a focus on intercultural education.

An appraisal of the measures which have been adopted so far and their effect might possibly indicate the following continuing problems:

- demographic trends tending to rapid increase in foreign population of school age;
- marked inequality of educational opportunity and life chances between indigent and foreign populations;
- relative lack of social, cultural and educational integration of certain «foreigner» groups;
- proportional over-representation of certain foreign groups (from Mediterranean countries in special education);
- under-representation of these groups in academic, high status secondary education;
- small proportion of foreigners attending preparatory classes and poor quality of education provided;
- isolation of bilingual classes from the «normal school system»;
- institution of special classes for foreigners as a «release valve» to release pressure on «normal» classes;
- fragmented and subject-based epistemology and organisation of school and teacher education curriculum;
- immature theoretical development of concepts such as intercultural or multicultural education;
- intellectual conservation of German teacher education and higher education in general.

In the Netherlands, approximately 80% of foreign children in primary schools are following a course in the language and culture of origin, and there is in contrast continuing inadequacy of provision at secondary level. There is a certain fragmentation of reception methods and in teacher education methods and initiatives have included introducing courses for foreign teachers working in Dutch schools, courses for Dutch teachers in teaching foreign children in both primary and secondary education and with special reference to working with foreign girls (for women teachers and leaders)(35). An influential report has been published on mother tongue by the Advisory Committee on Curriculum Development (ACLO) in 1982 (36). One project, the so-called PICOO-Project is aimed at developing a model teaching plan for teacher education. It involves a joint venture by nine teacher training colleges with components in intercultural education amongst others (37). The project was evaluated by the Institute of Education of the University of Amsterdam (38). Uniquely amongst European countries the Netherlands aimed from 1 August 1984, to introduce intercultural education as a compulsory component of initial teacher training courses for all students.

A review of Dutch policies and practices might include the following continuing issues:

- inadequacy of provision for language and culture of origin at secondary level;
- concept of teaching methods for immigrants offered by teachers colleges is outdated;
- underprovision of appropriate in-service training;
- underachievement of foreign children, particularly Turkish and Morrocan children;
- overrepresentation of migrant children in lower types of secondary education;
- lower relative chronological class placement of migrant children in comparison with their ages;
- lack of account taken of role of teacher attitudes in underachievement;
- lack of fundamental reform in teacher education.

In France, circulars from the early 1970s have emphasised the development of linguistic competence but it is with the establishment of the Centres de Formation et d'Information pour la Scolarisation des Enfants Migrants (CEFISEM),

initiated by Circulars 76-387 and 77-310 from 1976 and 1977, that Intercultural Education was effectively commenced. These CEFISEM, whose number has recently been brought up to fourteen, take account of the local and regional environment and have a particular and seminal role in the development of intercultural education. Additionally, the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint Cloud (Higher Teachers College) and CREDIF (Centre de Recherche et d'Etude pour la Diffusion du Français) (Centre for Research and Study for the Dissemination of French) have played a particular role in the retraining of teachers and in socio-pedagogical and didactic research. From January 1973, the Bureau de Documentation Migrants (Office for Documentation on Migrants) has been active in the publication and documentation of information about migrants, including the publication of a revue Migrants-Formation (39). In this connection mention should be made of the work and efforts of Louis PORCHER who, both nationally in France and internationally through organisations such as the EEC and the Council of Europe, has done so much to develop a more theoretically valid and empirically based International Education (40). Through such individual, regional and national initiatives as these, there is a rapidly increasing momentum towards the concept of intercultural education, appropriate for all pupils in all schools, although this is not intended to imply that the epistemological mould of French school curricula has yet begun to be reshaped accordingly.

An appraisal of the French efforts in the field might possibly indicate the following problems:

- increase in the foreign school population due to complementary demographic trends;
- a proportionately higher representation of foreign children in special education;
- proportionate underrepresentation of foreign children in academic and longer cycle secondary education;
- continuing inequality of educational opportunity (uneveness of representation?) between indigent and foreign children, with Maghreb country children most disadvantaged;
- educational marginalisation of foreign children;
- continuing ethnocentrism of French school and higher educational curricula;
- lack of provision of mother-tongue instruction (except Italian);

- underprovision of extra language provision in first and second years of primary school;

- relative lack of provision of reception and/or adjustment classes for new older children;

- lack of impact of interculturalism in secondary teacher training and of racism- and prejudice-reduction pedagogies in all teacher education.

In the United Kingdom, the plethora of developments in multicultural education has been overshadowed by racial tension and explosion and by governmental attempts to control immigration through nationality legislation. In spite of this, the schools, teachers' centres, and teachers' professional and syndical associations have done much to develop new curricula against a background of governmental apathy and sluggish inactivity in the teachers colleges and university departments responsible for the training of teachers. Recent publications have documented the various situation and made proposals to overcome it (41). Publications are beginning to appear educating a holistic approach to multicultural education and indicating to teachers how they may plan and implement appropriate curricula (42). Experts from the United Kinqdom have participated in the work of international organisations and have been instrumental in tackling the problems of preparing teacher trainers for the field of intercultural education, a particular difficulty which has been identified by numerous national writers and commissions (43).

Continuing problems in the United Kingdom might be seen as including:

- uneven take-up of educational opportunity by indigent and different ethnic minority groups;

- underachievement of many black children;

- lack of mother-tongue provision;

- conservation and recalcitrance of teacher education in accommodating to democratic cultural pluralism;

- lack of political will to give full recognition de facto to the United Kingdom as a multiracial and multicultural society;

- lack of «non-superficial» curriculum and assessment reform;

- lack of appropriate and adequate IT and INSET training for teachers;

- prejudice and inequality of rigidly social class hierarchised educational provision;

- immature stage of multicultural education and lack of resources to support its development;

- etc!

In 1980, Switzerland had one of the highest proportions of «foreigners» in Europe, approximately 14% (exclusive of the «saisonniers») with a fairly constant «foreign» school enrolment of approximately 15% across the years 1976-82. Restrictive immigration measures dating from 1964 and 1970 and the institution of a more recent change in the hereditary right of citizenship have both contributed to this relative stability, although internally within the school system there has been a shift with decline in pre-school and primary enrolments and a marked increase in secondary enrolments (44).

More than 20% of the enrolments in special education (primary) are of foreign children and this proportion is increasing despite the decline in primary enrolments referred to above. There is also an imbalance in the representation of foreign children in different kinds of secondary provision dependent on whether a «selection gate» has to be cleared or not, with the «mediterranean» children being most under-represented.

Early educational responses tended to concentrate on the provision of additional teaching in French or German (viz the first declaration of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Directors of Public Education (EDK) in 1942), but more recent declarations have recognised the importance of provision for the teaching of the language and civilisation of origin (45). In spite of the publication of the LEMO report on teacher education in 1975, new recommendations by the EDK in 1978 and new regulations at Cantonal level for teacher education have left teacher education largely underresponsive to issues of migrant education, not to mention intercultural education.

Continuing problems may be seen as arising from:

- the differential legal status of different migrants;

- the additional burden for foreign children of the national language policy;

- the more difficult «culture lock-on» problem encountered by mediterranean cultures;

- the inequality of educational and broader economic opportunity;

- the overrepresentation of migrant workers children of some nationalities in special education;

- the underrepresentation of some migrant workers children of some nationalities in more economically and culturally potent forms of secondary education;

- the cultural «obduracy» of teacher education;

- the cultural immobility of the host society's response to a new kind of cultural pluralism.

In Sweden, and notwithstanding immigration of refugees as a result of World War II, the major impetus to mass immigration was given by the institution of the Nordic Free Market in 1954. During the 1960s, for example, Finns comprised 50% of all immigrants, although the proportion of Nordic immigrants has declined since the early 1970s as a proportion of all immigration. There is no restriction on Nordic immigration and most other immigration is now either refugee, adoptive or consequent (46).

Nonetheless, although foreign nationals account for less than 5% of the Swedish population of approximately 8.3 million, when all non-indigenous residents are included this figure rises to almost one million.

The year 1974 was a turning point in Swedish policy concerning migrants with the publication of the Invandrarutredingen, which forsake the previous policy of assimilation and led to the adoption of the Swedish Parliament of a new policy in 1975 embracing the principles of jämliket, valfrihet and samverkan: equality, freedom and partnership (47). In turn this led to the hemsråksreformen (Home Language Reform) of 1977 which defined immigrant children as have a «home» language other than Swedish. That reform placed a responsibility on local authorities to provide mother tongue teaching if at least one parent speaks a language other than Swedish at home. By 1982-3 55% out of 83% eligible children were receiving instruction in one of sixty-three different languages (48). By 1978, 91% of children at pre-school level, recorded as having a mother tongue other than Swedish, had at least four hours tuition per week in their mother tongue. In 1978, the proportion of migrant pupils in the compulsory school system ranged from 11.8% in grade 1 to 90% in grade 9. These forms of such instruction are mainly available according to numbers: withdrawal, composite and home language.

With the establishment of several more recent commission, including areas such as ethnic prejudice and discrimination and on immigration policy and its commitment to the inclusion of intercultural education in the training of all school staff, Sweden appears to have moved further than perhaps any other European country in responding to the newly perceived

multiculturalism of its society with policies founded in concepts of justice and equality, social cohesion unified with cultural diversity which yet remain for their full operationalisation. Some of the continuing issues may well centre around problems such as:

- racism and discrimination vis ã vis adopted immigrants;
- the implementation of the high ideals of policy;
- the need for new epistemological moulds for school and teacher education curricula;
- the lack of overarching principles to resolve fundamental minority/majority value clash on other than majority terms;
- continued alienation, animosity and lack of sociality in suburbia;
- conflict over resources at macro and micro levels.

Even from this brief, incomplete and partial picture, it will be apparent to the discerning reader that massive resources have been invested by national, international and local education authorities in the problems of migrant workers and their children. Relatively little of this investment nationally has been applied to issues of intercultural and multicultural education with the notable exceptions of such countries as France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom, and even there the amount is small and patchily distributed. One of the major difficulties would appear to be the way in which the issues were first perceived ie as issues related to the immigration of foreigners rather than issues of how the conditions may be brought about within a humane, pluralist society, where different cultural groups may live together in harmony and tolerance, creatively inter-learning with each other. There can be little doubt of the continuing educational inequality suffered by migrant workers children and the way in which their culture is «bracketed out» from the normal school system. They tend to be overrepresented in special education and underrepresented in academic and long focus of secondary education, in teacher education and in higher education. The more distant their culture from the «host culture», the less, as a rule, their life chances are.

Some of these disadvantages may be attributed to the persistence of ancient curricular epistemologies, which are dysfunctional and obsolescent if not downright obsolete. These «knowledge-moulds» are locked in place by important social groups, including leading educational, political and economic groups, organisations and institutions, who are as yet

unconvinced of - perhaps even untouched by - the need for multicultural education. In many cases such groups and organisations maintain a cultural stranglehold on central mechanisms such as examinations. Nowhere has this epistemological mould been significantly broken, nor are there signs that this will occur in the near future. While it remains, significant cultural groups find their culture excluded from the legitimately recognised culture of manifestly multicultural societies (49). This, as yet, unbroken mould determines in turn content not only of school curricula but also that of teacher education. Here the problem of archaic knowledge is compounded by the increasing cultural and social obsolescence of the practical experience of most teacher educators, contrasted with the various state of initial and in-service education - unrecognised as a major national priority in its new multicultural or intercultural form.

In the discipline of education itself, there are very few standard texts which recognise the problem of multicultural education, let alone adopt their epistemology to its values and ethnical concepts. The disciplinary structure of education, les sciences de l'éducation and Erziehungswissenschaften either resist the absorption of multicultural education, fragment its problem orientation or alternatively offer only a partial view. Often the focus is destroyed by being splayed across a dozen disciplines, whose constellation is different in the different political and linguistic entities, and the interchange of information, ideas and policies is imprisoned within still largely impermeable national and regional intellectual styles (50).

It is in the universities and other institutions of higher education in Europe that ancient privilege and relative lack of social accountability combined with distant, skewed and often inflated, concepts of academic freedom have significantly braked developments towards new concepts of economic and educational knowledge appropriate to a multicultural society. Far too often still the answer to the ancient question «What knowledge is of most worth?» is the estoric, the abstract, the non-applied, the socially irrelevant, - and significantly, it is usually exclusive of the cultural capital of ethnic minority communities. The languages studied are still those of idealised ancient societies or of a few immediate neighbours rather than those of the multiculture which provides the cultural nest and could provide the cultural powerhouse for those universities and institutions of higher education. The history studied is frequently not even eurocentric but ethnocentric, exclusive and often charismatic and biased.

Very little effort and resource is still being allocated to issues of racism and prejudice reduction, seen as dominant by visible minorities in particular and the culture-bias of tests, examinations, assessments and teachers observational

and other judgments has received relatively little attention. It is in the context of such chronic and endemic problems that efforts to intercultural education have to be seen. Whilst such problems remain, individuals and individual institutions may find enterprise in proposing and implementing curricula which are more appropriate to a multicultural society and speculating on the development of intercultural education. But insofar as, and for as long as, the overall mould and lack of potent political will remain and the task is seen as the socialisation of immigrants - or even ethnic minorities - to the dominant culture, the prospects for the development of an appropriate multicultural and intercultural education, reflecting the multicultural nature of European societies concerned more with life chances than life styles, addressed to issues of educational equality in a culturally diverse society, and recognising the issues of power and access to rewards and resources involved, remain relatively bleak - to the impoverishment of all Europe's inhabitants.

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(9) See Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Eleventh Session, Committee of Senior Officials, Migrants' Education, Strasbourg: February 1979, p 5.

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(44) Details taken from MITTER, W, DÖBRICH, P, KODRON, C, and LYNCH, J, «Lehrerbildung für Multikulturelle Schulen», (Abschlussbericht I des BMBW Projektes B4233, OOB), Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Institut für Internationale Padagogische Forschung, 1982, pp 197-230.

(45) See Council of Europe, «Dossiers for the Intercultural Training of Teachers: Switzerland», Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1980.

(46) General details taken from Council of Europe, «Dossiers for the Intercultural Training of Teachers: Sweden», Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1981.

(47) Details taken from WILLKE, I, Die Bildungssituation von Einwandern in Schweden», in Bartenwerfer, H, (ed) «Erziehung für Ausländerkinder. Frankfurt: Gesellschaft zur Förderung Padagogischer Forschung, 1982, pp 13-35.

(48) PURNELL, P (1984), op cit, p iv. I am also grateful to Mr Purnell for an advance copy of his report on «Multicultural Education in Europe», produced as a result of an AEC Trust Fellowship Award: This paper is to be published as part of a forthcoming book as follows: GREIG, D (ed) «Learning from Europe». London: Longmans, 1984, forthcoming.

(49) One example of the paradoxes which this situation yields is the fact that the United Kingdom in contravention of Article 3 of the Directive charges rent for premises for tuition in the language and culture of origin but spends £6 million per annum on providing private school fees for the children of staff in the Foreign Office even though many of these staff never have to serve abroad. See report in «The Guardian» (1984), 9 August, p 2.

(50) Some reference to the problem of obtaining purchase on this issue are made in a paper by WIRT, F M, «Ethnic minorities and school policy in European Democracies: theory and case studies». Paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, September 1976, mimeo.

PART THREE: INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM PRACTICE

In Part One we attempted to characterise «intercultural education» and give an account of some of the elements involved in the development of this concept in the European context. We gave recognition to the difficulties involved in reconstructing nationally-focussed education systems to the end of providing a fully intercultural education for all students. We agreed with Maura ROLANDI RICCI that a great deal of work will be needed on the socio-economic as well as on the educational front before the de facto nature of European societies is recognised in law and in spirit. Here we continue our earlier arguments by recaptivating two fundamental considerations affecting the creation of an intercultural curriculum.

The first concerns the curriculum as the expression of a national culture. An intercultural curriculum will, by definition, bring into sharp focus relationships between different cultures both across national boundaries and within the nation state itself. The former is strongly motivated by the increasing importance of world relations and the latter by pressure from those groups who find themselves discriminated against by virtue of their sex, race or socio-economic group. Recognition of the historical and contemporary multicultural nature of European societies implies not only additions to the mainstream culture expressed in the school curriculum but a major shake-up of some of its basic premises and structures. The classical European curriculum has traditionally placed a high degree of importance on a list of academic subjects, defined by the universities. Among these the national language, national literature, national history and national geography all have played a major role. Even in those countries which have an egalitarian approach to the curriculum it is still possible for it to be said that:

> The Swedish school is by tradition a Swedish school and it has (by law) to foster a Swedish culture. This culture includes tolerance towards other cultures, but it is still a Swedish culture. Here is a dilemma; how to develop a multicultural «cultural inheritance».
>
> (SVINGBY, page 186)

This being the case, an education which seeks to transcend national boundaries, develop dialogue between groups, and fight intolerance may come in conflict with national curricula - especially any which invoke an «ideology of blood and earth»

(BORRELLI and ESSINGER, page 159)

The second question which the concept of intercultural education raises for the curriculum concerns the concept of culture (See Part One). Many of the educational practices of those who have sought to acknowledge the multicultural nature of European societies are focussed through a, broadly-speaking, anthropological view of culture. This focusses on what makes someone's way of life distinctive and thus languages, literatures, relgions, value systems, customs, eating habits, ways of dress etc, all are proposed for inclusion in the curriculum. Such inclusions can have some beneficial effects both in terms of the challenge they make to a Eurocentric view of the world and in terms of the rights of minorities but, as we have indicated above, this view of culture is not, in our view, in any way sufficient for the generation of an intercultural curriculum. The transcending of boundaries between peoples cannot be achieved at the expense of ignoring economic conditions, social formations and ideologies. Nations are not equal in power neither are groups within European societies as Part Two of this book demonstrates. In this international and national context, it can be diversionary to draw attention to cultures perceived only as lifestyles. A curriculum which attempts to give students «a real view of knowledge» (SVINGBY) will in our view have to ensure that students learn how to interpret the societies and the world in which they live. It is not enough for students to learn from each other's cultures if they do not also learn about the power relations which maintain certain groups, and nations, in positions of dominance and exploitation over others.

As we understand the concept and relate it to the practices described in this part of the book, an intercultural curriculum inevitably involves change. This is not just because many European societies are still dominated by nationalistic thinking but because societies and cultures do not remain static. Knowledge increases; there is more to be known and crowded into the school timetable. Societal needs change and likewise particular groups in society make new demands of the education system. People re-shape the culture they know. If the school curriculum is resistant to such pressures it fossilises and ceases to equip young people for full participation in society and denies them a full range of life chances. It has however to be acknowledged that there is no simple mechanism for bringing into being a curriculum which is responsive to continuing change. Nearly everywhere we look, national guidelines, commercially-produced text-books, school based courses or work and examination syllabuses provide evidence of the slow speed at which changes in perspective become part of the educational fabric. FILE for instance shows that most of the criticisms being made of the United Kingdom's history curriculum forty years ago could with justification be made today.

Control of the curriculum

We are very conscious that significant differences exist between European education systems with respect to control of the curriculum. In most countries there are guidelines formulated at national or regional level. These vary in the degree of detail by which they specify the curriculum but all have symbolic, and many a very practical, function in determining whether change can take place in the classroom. Similarly, whether centralised or diffused through the system, examinations and assessment procedures exert considerable power over what is considered worthwhile knowledge. In some countries regional authorities have power to change the direction of the curriculum if they think it desirable. Local education authorities in the United Kingdom and Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany would come into this category. In some countries schools and even individual teachers can make changes to the curriculum. At each level there are possibilities and difficulties with respect to an intercultural curriculum.

National guidelines or curriculum plans have the potential to endorse either in general, or in detail, the principles on which an intercultural curriculum could be based. In some contexts the specification of a detailed national plan may be an important means of bringing about change. In our view, if centrally arrived at definitions of the curriculum are inadequate for today's students they should be challenged, re-thought and re-written. On the other hand, we recognise that such processes are slow and depend on a national or regional willingness both to think beyond national boundaries and attend to internal tensions and demands. A nationally defined syllabus is worse than a straight-jacket, for teacher and student alike, if it is not only national but also nationalistic. Similarly examination systems offer both opportunities for, and barriers to, change.

Many of the papers written by United Kingdom participants at the Second International Conference on Intercultural Curriculum report on work done within the policy guidelines of Local Education Authorities committed to «education in a multicultural democracy» or «a policy for equality». Such policies have been shaped through dialogue with various communities and are thus responsive to the conflicting interests perhaps best reflected in inner-city areas. One example, the policy framework for the curriculum adopted by the Inner London Education Authority, is interestingly far more radical in its determination to tackle racism, sexism and discrimination by virtue of class than any central government initiative in the United Kingdom. The advantages of work done at this intermediate level between central government and the school are considerable in that responses can be made to local needs; for example languages spoken in the community can be included in the curriculum, and key

issues of urban education can be explored in context. As BORRELLI and ESSINGER argue:

> intercultural contents cannot be prescribed by authorities, they must be developed in a dialogue with the people concerned.
>
> (BORRELLI and ESSINGER, page 157)

We must however add that, important as such local perspectives are, there is a danger of parochialism unless they are interconnected with international perspectives. This is a point well made in GILL's inter-relation of the exploitation of female labour in South East Asia with unemployment in Britain and the United Kingdom.

At the level of the teacher and the school there are examples in the papers which follow which demonstrate that in some countries teachers have a good deal of room to manoeuvre either within national or regional schemes with which they are broadly in agreement, or by virtue of their autonomy in the classroom. However, even with respect to the United Kingdom, we are inclined to the view that the autonomy of the secondary school teacher has been exaggerated and note the current transference in the United Kingdom from diffuse and largely invisible controls to centralised and visible ones (1). On the other hand, we consider that in all countries, what the students actually experience as the curriculum, as opposed to the planners' intentions, is crucially in the hands of the teacher. She, or he, determine whether, or not, students see the classroom as a place where they learn to think for themselves.

Principles and obstacles

Many of the papers which follow rely on the formulation of general principles which are then used to generate a desired curriculum and an appropriate pedagogy; the emphasis given to the principle rather than another determinining content and process. An example would be the anti-racist principle which is the starting point of some papers. Here the central principle is the need to challenge and de-construct racism in all its forms. Knowledge to be offered to students is interrogated for its contributions or omissions in relation to an understanding of how racism operates in societies and internationally.

Another principle which occurs frequently in the papers is the right of access of all students to the best knowledge available. This principle informs the arguments made below with respect to all subject areas. According to this, perspectives which are acknowledged to have considerable explanatory power but which have been traditionally reserved

for university study should not be kept from school students. An intercultural curriculum crucially involves wider perspectives as well as the revision of content. The achievement of this principle requires both changes in attitudes with respect to what is expected from all students in terms of their ages and intellectual capacities and changes to all those curricula which are arranged as if only some of the oldest and highest attaining students have a right to the full story.

This principle also raises the problem of how teachers are to achieve a fair presentation of the knowledge available to them. «Balance», whether in lessons, in text-books, or in the media, often means that alternatives to mainstream perspectives on knowledge are framed in such ways as suit the dominant viewpoint within a given society and alternative views are described as «ideological» or «biased» while the mainstream ideology escapes these charges.

Another principle which is given prominence in many of the papers is the right of all students, as a result of their education, to be able to participate fully in society. This principle features, for example, in the discussion of languages and language learning. It also features in the Statement on the Teaching of Science and Technology. In relation to this principle, it may be salutary to reflect that, traditionally, we have denied school students the right to any real say in their own education except perhaps indirectly by rejection of schooling. Moreover, European societies, as we have discussed above, deny full participation in society to some groups of people. There is here a continuing discrepancy between a principle which could be adopted to guide all curricular choices and the unequal life chances available at the end of compulsory education.

The two principles so far considered by no means exhaust the possibilities for principles which might generate an intercultural curriculum. In their paper, Michele BORRELLI and Helmut ESSINGER use a further four principles as a means of generating a curriculum for an intercultural, political education (see below p 157). For them, intercultural learning is to be characterised by openness, dialogue and equal treatment, and fair treatment for all human beings. Thus the principles they propose include education for empathy, intercultural respect, and the breaking down of nationalism. The remaining principle, education for solidarity, is the most powerful and appears to subsume the others. This concept calls jointly for the development of a collective consciousness which transcends national boundaries, and the reduction of social inequalities and injustices. As these four principles, and the curricula that can be generated from them in specific subject areas, played a major part in the discussions at the Second International Conference on

Intercultural Curriculum, some idea of their potential as a means of generating an intercultural curriculum should be seen not only from the BORRELLI and ESSINGER contribution on political education but also reflected in the discussions which precede each group of papers.

Process and content

On the whole, what emerges as the curriculum in skills, knowledge and understanding of the students themselves is dependent on how the curriculum is seen by those who at any level plan it or put it into action.

From an intercultural viewpoint, an emphasis on the transactions which take place in the classroom would seem of prime importance, since the interactions between students and teachers within a culturally and socially diverse school population provide both opportunity and content for intercultural exchange. Similarly in monocultural schools committed to an intercultural curriculum those transactions between teacher and student will be of equal importance if the students' ethnocentric «common-sense» is to be tackled effectively.

However this does not get us very far along the road in the general planning of an intercultural curriculum. Nor, we would add, do those static models of the curriculum which take content for granted and concentrate on drawing up psychologically based taxonomies of objectives. Content in changing, plural societies is contentious. Equally contentious are the levels of education to be provided for all students and the rights of access that students have to various life chances. A model then is needed which is capable of relating curriculum to culture and society.

Of the available cultural analysis models the following appears to be one of the most useful for our purposes.

> The essence of the cultural analysis approach is that of developing a method of matching the needs of individual children living in a specific society by means of a carefully planned curriculum. This selection from the culture is made by analysing the kind of society that exists, and then «mapping out» the kind of knowledge and the kinds of experience that are most appropriate. This process requires three kinds of classification: first, deciding on major parameters (the cultural invariants); second, outlining a method of analysis which can be used to describe any given society, making use of those major parameters (that is, moving from cultural invariants to cultural variables); third, a means of classifying the educationally desirable knowledge and experience.

Though the analysis of your own society is difficult since your observations are likely to be clouded by your own ideology and your closeness to its institutions, it is a necessary prerequisite of curriculum planning to ask such questions as:

> What kind of society exists?
> In what ways is it developing?
> How do its members want it to develop?
> What kind of values and principles will be involved in deciding on its future development and the educational means of attempting to achieve this?

The value of such an emphasis for our concerns here is firstly that it enables us to analyse an existing, planned curriculum at any level, from national guidelines to school syllabus, and ask what kind of analysis of a given society its selections represent. Second, it provides a means of generating new curricula by analysing a specific society in terms of its cultural systems, (social structure, economic, communication, rationality, technology, morality, belief, aesthetic) and the interactions between them. There is also no theoretical difficulty in extending its use to societies and cultures; that is to use it not only within but also between societies and cultures.

In concluding this section we would like to draw attention to the argument made by FILE with respect to forms of knowledge. He argues that by stressing the form of knowledge «school history» professional historians have ignored such pressing content as racism and global inequality,

> This form of knowledge which has made most of the world invisible for most of humankind's history, which has turned over half of humanity into a minority group, which ignores the dispossessed and the oppressed has a lot to answer for.
>
> (FILE p 172)

Not only the content but the construction of the «subject» themselves has to be examined. «Subjects» are constructed within a culture and carry with them their histories and purposes. Thus an intercultural curriculum worthy of the name will have not only to look at the boundaries between subjects but also the internal structure of those constructions.

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(2) LAWTON, D (1983) «Curriculum Studies and Educational Planning», London, Hodder and Stoughton.

LANGUAGES - PAPERS

Hans HAMBER describes the structure of what probably is the most complete system of bilingual provision in Europe at the moment. Approximately two thirds of all children and students in compulsory education in Sweden who are entitled to home language classes participate in them.

John BROADBENT and Hasmukh PATEL operate in a national framework lacking encouragement comparable with that obtaining in Sweden. They describe an attempt to give Gujarati a recognised status in the curriculum and certification on a par with French and German as a desired modern language in one London school.

Josie LEVINE argues that a change in emphasis is needed in the provision made in the United Kingdom for supporting those students who are learning a second language. She describes the pattern of provision of specialist language teachers and language centres which was set up during the 60s and 70s. She suggests that, if second language learners are to be supported properly in the process of becoming bilingual, they most crucially need assistance in the context of the various subjects they are taking. This, it is argued, can be achieved by specialist language teachers working far less in language centres and much more in the «mainstream» classroom - in close collaboration with the subject teachers. LEVINE's contribution is an extract from a longer paper presented at the First Conference on International Curriculum which contained writing by several teachers on aspects of second language learning and mainstream curriculum. One of these pieces by Ann BURGESS and Leon GORE is also included here. It gives an account of a school making the change from withdrawal groups to «mainstream» support.

Inge HOFMANS OKKES proposes that teachers of all subjects should examine the implications of having students who are still learning, as a second language, the language of instruction. She emphasises the need to help these students understand the language of school texts and suggests that this can be done through exercises which put the decision-making in the hands of the student. She also argues that teachers need to ensure that their own language and the language of the texts they use is accessible to all their students. Second language learners must be able to grasp the concepts involved in, say, geography, chemistry or general technology and the responsibility for this lies with changes of practice both for second language teachers and subject teachers.

Also included is a Manifesto on Language Rights produced by the Languages Seminar at the Second Conference on Intercultural Curriculum.

EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN SWEDISH SCHOOLS

Hans HAMBER

General background

Sweden has roughly 8.3 million inhabitants. About one million of them, or about 12% of the population, are immigrants or immigrants' children. The Swedish national minorities, the Laps, the Tornedal-Finns and the gypsies, number just approximately 50,000 persons.

The majority of the immigrants have Finland as country of origin, but other large groups come from Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland, Turkey and Spanish speaking countries in South America. There are also immigrants from Asia and Africa.

Although there are immigrants in almost all Swedish municipalities the majority of the immigrants live in the most densely populated parts of Sweden, especially in the cities, and schools exist that have more than half of the number of pupils having other mother-tongues than Swedish.

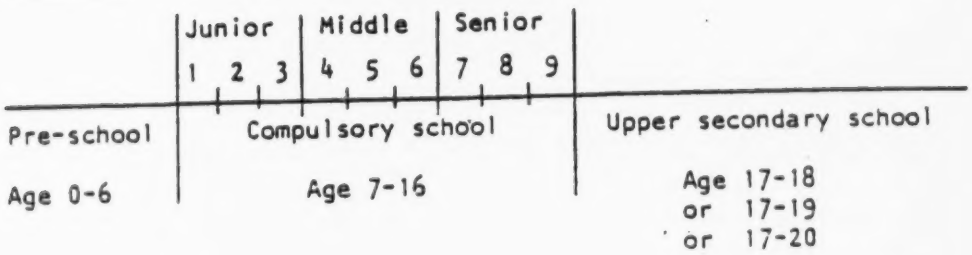
The immigration policy of Swedien today is more restrictive than earlier. You must have a labour permit to be allowed to immigrate. Exceptions are made only for persons with a close relationship to immigrants in Sweden and for refugees. The quota of refugees for the year 1984 is stipulated at 1,250 individuals.

Slightly more than 22,000 persons immigrated into Sweden in 1983, but it is to be noticed that fully 17,000 persons left the country the same year. This year there seems however to be a change in the trend of reduced immigration. After four years of falling figures immigration has increased again. The main reason is the wave of refugees from the Middle East. The number of asylum supplicants during the first six months of 1984 has risen dramatically.

School system

Compulsory comprehensive school in Sweden has two three year levels of primary education - the junior level (grades 1-3) and the middle level (grades 4-6) - and a third lower-secondary level - the senior level (grades 7-9). The first two levels have a system with class teachers who teach almost all subjects. At the senior level teachers specialised for generally two or three subjects each are used. Subjects, such as music, arts, physical education etc at the senior level and often at the middle level too, are taught by teachers specialised in only one of the subjects.

Figure 1. School Structure in Sweden



Almost all children in Sweden attend public compulsory school. Private schools are very rare in Sweden though the Education Act is liberal towards private persons or groups wanting to establish private schools. Less than 1% of the children attend private schools.

Children start in comprehensive school at the age of seven. The municipalities are mandated to offer pre-school to all children at the age of six, but pre-school is voluntary for the children.

The general goal for the compulsory school is set out in the first paragraph of the Education Act: «The purpose of the education which society provides for children and young persons is to impart knowledge to the pupils and to develop their skills and, in co-operation with their homes, to promote their development into harmonious individuals and into competent and responsible members of society».

The opening sentences of the goal chapter in the curriculum say: «Compulsory school is a part of society. The curriculum reflects the view of the democracy on society and man, the implication being that human beings are active and creative and that they both can and must assume responsibility and seek knowledge in order to co-operate with others in understanding and improving their own living conditions and those of other people. The content and the working methods must be designed in such a way that they promote this attitude towards people and society. It is the duty of schools to give their pupils increased responsibility and powers of co-determination as they grow older and become increasingly mature.» (1)

The goals and the guidelines are formulated in general terms. They are thus not measurable, and they express rather a direction for the work of schools than what schools shall attain.

In the syllabuses for subjects or groups of subjects, goals for the work in these subjects or areas are also expressed. They have to be read in parallel with the general goals and guidelines. The goals of the subjects are also formulated in rather general terms.

The syllabuses contain, beside goals, main items of the subjects for each of the three levels of the comprehensive school - also fairly generally expressed.

Almost all students from comprehensive school pass straight on to upper secondary school. It is also possible to continue in upper secondary later on. Upper secondary school generally runs for 2-4 years, the length depending on which of 25 alternative study lines chosen, but shorter special courses are also available. Upper secondary school includes both vocationally and academically oriented study lines.

Education of pupils with another mother tongue than Swedish

The policy of immigrant education has the objective that immigrant children will develop a bilingual competence, mastering both their home languages and Swedish. The majority of the immigrant children are individually integrated in ordinary Swedish classes, but when there are many immigrant children of the same origin in a school at the junior and the middle level they are often grouped in home-language classes, or classes with one half Swedish-speaking children and one half speaking another language. In those classes the home-language is used as the language of instruction in the lower grades but gradually Swedish takes over as language of instruction.

Table 1. Number of home language pupils in comprehensive school 1983/84

Language	Entitled	Share (%)	Participating	Share of the entitled (%)
Finnish	35 800	41	23 300	65
Yugoslavian lang.	8 100	9	5 300	65
Spanish	5 400	6	4 300	80
German	4 900	6	2 800	57
English	3 800	4	2 700	70
Greek	2 900	3	2 200	75
Assyrian lang.	2 800	3	2 200	77
Polish	3 000	3	1 900	64
Turkish	2 100	2	1 700	82
Arabian	1 700	2	1 200	73
Chinese	1 400	2	1 200	85
Danish	3 300	4	1 000	29
Hungarian	1 900	2	1 000	51
Italian	1 500	2	900	62
Norwegian	1 800	2	200	13
Other lang.		9		
Total	87 700	100	56 300	63

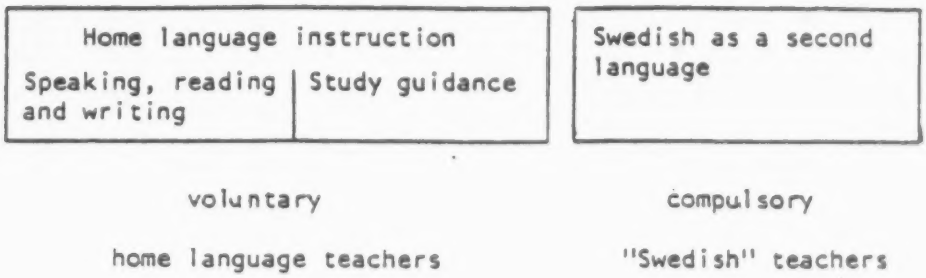
Table 2. Number of the home language classes (A) and classes with one part Swedish-, one part another language-speaking pupils (B) 1983/84

Language	A	B
Finnish	436	167
Greek	25	10
Yugoslavian lang.	31	42
Spanish	25	42
Turkish	29	11
Total	546	272

Beside ordinary instruction given to all pupils in Swedish schools, children coming from homes where a language other than Swedish is used have a right to home language instruction given by home language teachers (teachers with the languages in question as their mother tongues). That instruction comprises both learning to speak, read and write the home language and study guidance (using the home language to explain concepts, phenomena etc that the pupils meet in the ordinary instruction). Home language instruction is voluntary, but it is compulsory for the municipality to offer it. If a municipality finds it impossible to arrange home language instruction - because of shortage of teachers or another reason - the municipality is obliged to apply to the regional board of education for a special permission not to arrange it. That happens only exceptionally.

In order to attain sufficient proficiency in Swedish, pupils in need of it are taught Swedish as a second language (2). It is taught by teachers with Swedish as their mother tongue. There is a severe shortage of teachers with an adequate training for this subject. That problem has been pointed out for some years. In-service training in Swedish as a second language has now been given priority and regular teacher training in the subject starts as from the academic year 1984/85.

Figure 2. The education of pupils with another mother tongue than Swedish



The syllabuses of home language instruction and Swedish as a second language are enclosed (Enc 1 and Enc 2).

There are roughly 87,700 pupils in comprehensive school entitled to home language instruction. Roughly 56,300 are taking part (almost 63%). In upper secondary the corresponding figures are 15,800 and 6,900 (almost 45%).

How many home language instruction lessons a week a pupil is given is determined with regard to what the pupil needs and what the available resources allow. Pupils in home language classes generally have more lessons than pupils individually integrated in ordinary classes. The number of

pupils in a school with the same mother tongue is also of significance depending on the resource system.

The Swedish school system is predominantly municipal, but state grants cover about half the costs which is roughly enough for the teacher salaries. The state grants for compulsory schools comprise base resources (in proportion to the number of classes), supportive resources (in proportion to the number of pupils) and supplementary grants. (The system is rather complicated; the explanation here is for that reason simplified).

Resources for home language instruction and Swedish as a second language are given as a special state grant. The municipalities receive a bulk of resources for home language instruction determined on the basis of the number of pupils taking part in that instruction (calculated to cover the costs of 1.1 - 1.4 lesson a week per pupil). For Swedish as a second language they receive a resource calculated to cover the cost of four lessons a week per group. The groups are recommended to be small and homogeneous.

The state grants for upper secondary schools do not differ in principal from those for compulsory schools.

More on study guidance

All teachers in a school are responsible for the pupils' linguistic development. The home language teacher has a special responsibility for the home language instruction. Pupils with other home languages than Swedish develop their languages not only by learning to speak, read and write them but also by study guidance that, in a natural way, gives possibilities to use the language to supply facts, to make concepts clear and to bring about culture.

By study guidance the pupil can manage to learn from the content of a text, to acquire knowledge broader than in the text itself, to explain both in her or his mother tongue and in Swedish the most important words and concepts in the area being studied and to be confident in discussions and tests.

The aim of study guidance is to develop the pupils' knowledge in the different subjects, skills in Swedish, and technique of studying enough to gradually do well on her or his own. That does not mean to force the pupil to rapid achievements. Study guidance is generally best given too long rather than too short a time. The pupils after consider themselves so good that they do not need to continue with study guidance, and it is easy to be deceived by the pupils' relatively good oral proficiency.

Intercultural education

Intercultural education is not explicitly mentioned in the curriculum of 1980 for comprehensive schools neither in the curriculum of 1970 for upper secondary schools. Even though the new concept intercultural education is not used, you find several manifestations of the same approach as intercultural education represents - especially in the relatively new curriculum of 1980. Here are some examples:

«A pupil with another home language than Swedish has a right to have equally good education as other pupils. School is obliged to - at the same time as it strengthens pupils' linguistic development - actively utilise their cultural heritage.» (p 14).

«School is obliged to attempt to create solidarity with unprivileged groups both in Sweden and internationally. It is obliged to actively promote that the immigrants are included in the national community.» (p 17).

«Immigrant pupils and their parents can be a great asset by making accessible knowledge of other countries' culture. It is the task of school to educate the pupils so that they feel solidarity with other countries, peoples and cultures. It is also the task of schools to educate the pupils to understand and feel solidarity with minority groups within our own country.» (p 31).

Beside the excerpts above from the goals and the guidelines as examples can be mentioned that in the goals of the subjects you also can find manifestations of intercultural education.

The goals of the subjects English, French and German eg say that the pupils should gain knowledge of and interest in everyday life, labour life, societal conditions and culture in mainly English, French and German speaking countries.

Some of the main items of the subject domestic science are of interest in this connection: to prepare meals from different culture areas, to learn about cooking traditions in Sweden and in other parts of the world, to understand how access to water, energy and machine in different parts of the world influence working methods, hygiene, health and comfort, and to learn about the family in different cultures and about life together and traditions.

A main item in physical education is Swedish and foreign folk dances. In the subject music you naturally find several intercultural main items.

One important goal of the group of general subjects (geography, history, civics, and religion) is that the instruction should «give readiness for peace striving and increase the understanding for the necessity of intercultural solidarity. It should lead to understanding and respect for all people, for their cultures, civilisations, values and lives.» (p 120). The goals also lay down that «although Christianity is the most important religion in order to understand our own culture, the Christian heritage should be compared with other religious traditions and philosophies to life. The religious heritage that many immigrants bring to our country gives valuable contributions to enlighten these questions.» (p 12)

A governmental commission on migrants' languages and culture in school and adult education in Sweden that finished its work last year (3) has proposed, among other things, a further emphasis on the necessity that school in full is obliged to be characterised by the presence of many languages and cultures in Sweden. Every pupil and every adult have to share the responsibility to promote a positive interaction between cultures. The commission also proposed that the Riksdag (the Swedish Parliament) should make a statement on intercultural education as the basis of continued and essential measures about education, teaching materials supply, and staff training. The municipalities should in this connection have their attention drawn to the importance of promoting in-service training on intercultural education.

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(1) The conception of curriculum in Sweden is the goals and guidelines, the timetable and the syllabuses, altogether established by a government decision and published as a book named «Laroplan for grundskolan» abbreviated Lgr with the year of origin as a suffix. Lgr 80 is now in force.

(2) Swedish as a second language is named Swedish as a foreign language in the School Ordinance and the curriculum, but it is suggested that it should be changed to the first-mentioned notation.

(3) Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture (1984) Different Origins - Partnership in Sweden, Education for Linguistic and Cultural Diversity (SOU 1983: 57).

COMMUNITY LANGUAGE CLASSES: TOWARDS A TAILOR-MADE POLICY

John BROADBENT: London Borough of Brent Language Service
Hasmukh PATEL: Alperton High School, London Borough of Brent

There is still some reluctance in the United Kingdom to recognise the issues created by the presence of linguistic diversity in the population of secondary schools. Surveys have shown that more than a dozen languages are widely spoken in distinct communities across the British Isles, but that in the curriculum of most British secondary schools French is often the only language other than English which is offered.

Failure on the part of Local Education Authorities to promote in their schools the languages which are spoken in the community as a whole would seem not only to flout the relevant EEC Directive but also to contradict the spirit of the 1944 Education Act which requires LEAs to meet the needs of the population of their area.

In Wales, Local Education Authorities (LEAs) have been taking advantage of their relative autonomy from central government by establishing Welsh-medium and bilingual schools: in England some LEAs have responded to the pressure from local linguistic communities by recruiting bilingual teachers under the provision of the 1966 Local Government Act. These teachers, originally detailed to relate to the needs of the children of «Commonwealth immigrants», are three quarters funded from a central government source which itself emanates from the European Social Fund. They are rarely attached to a single school but tend to be deployed on a peripatetic basis in a number of schools.

In drawing conclusions from their investigation of the languages and dialects of London school children, Rosen and Burgess emphasise that «whatever is done to help, support and guide schools from outside, nothing can relieve schools from the task of evolving a tailor-made policy and practice from the particular mix which confronts them.» (1)

In some cases, individual schools (which in England and Wales enjoy a kind of autonomy in relation to the LEA which is comparable to the LEA's own autonomy vis-à-vis central government) have taken the initiative in drawing upon their regular funding to revise their language curriculum to meet the perceived needs of their populations. The case of Alperton High School in the London Borough of Brent is reported on in some detail below.

Gujarati is widely used in the community surrounding this well-established comprehensive school near Wembley in north west London. Courses in the language are now available to all students in a double option scheme which permits a choice between French, German and Gujarati for the first year of secondary schooling (at age 11) and an option of a second language in addition to English from the same choice of three in the third year (at age 13). Two year examination courses are offered in the fourth and fifth years to any student with some previous experience of learning the language to be examined.

Modern language options

In 1980 when Alperton High School Community Language Project started its work every pupil studied French for the three years between the ages of eleven and fourteen: the third year of secondary schooling allowed a further possibility to take German; this second language was begun well before the fourth and fifth year options because it was felt that to reach an adequate level for passing school leaving certificates students needed three years of exposure to a new language.

Gujarati then came to be offered to any volunteers in the third year in an additional language slot which also included extra English and German. In order to push through further reforms in its provision to bring German and Gujarati into equality with French, the Modern Languages Department had to appeal to the School's Governors. They, in turn, encouraged the Headteacher to implement the findings of a survey in neighbouring feeder primary schools which revealed the language(s) which were preferred by pupils in the final years of primary schooling. Gujarati had been placed ahead of German, but behind French as a desired subject to be taken in the first year.

Language surveys

The initial impetus to begin teaching Gujarati at Alperton High School came from another survey conducted amongst pupils and staff, which revealed that one third of the school population spoke Gujarati at home. It also revealed that not a single member of staff had a knowledge of the language though there were some language classes in Urdu offered after school in extended day sessions.

When in 1979 a teacher - Jayaben DESAI - was found to set up similar classes in Gujarati the response was enormous. With the appointment to the staff of the school of Hasmukh PATEL and Hasina MANJI, two science teachers, both with a knowledge of Gujarati, it became possible to envisage offering the language within the timetable.

Language surveys have resulted in much greater levels of awareness in those Local Education Authorities which have attempted them, the first one being the Inner London Education Authority in 1978. Language surveys were conducted in all of the schools administered by the London Borough of Brent during May 1982 and December 1984, piloting materials designed by the Linguistic Minorities Project based at the University of London Institute of Education (2). Members of the National Association for Multiracial Education (now the National Anti-Racist Movement in Education) in Brent subsequently conducted a further Borough-wide survey, this time to determine the skills and willingness of bilingual staff to teach their own languages. It transpired that there were great resources in terms of linguistic knowledge just waiting to be tapped in a number of schools.

Voluntary Involvement

In Alperton High School, a nucleus of enthusiastic teachers rapidly grew around the reforms in language provision; Mohammed ANEES, Maths teacher, John BROADBENT, German teacher, Sue CRUMP, Head of English, John MOSELEY, Head of Modern Languages, Mukund NAWATHE, Community Liaison Teacher, Sandra STEELE, teacher of English as a Second Language, and many others. It was Sandra STEELE, along with Nicola POOLEY and other staff working for Brent Language Service who produced the questionnaire in Table 1; others spent time organising classes and designing teaching materials and syllabuses. The questionnaire suggests a number of measures which can be taken in United Kingdom secondary schools in relation to linguistic diversity. If they do not form part of a deliberate project for the promotion of community languages some may on their own appear trivial or tokenistic, but they do show what initiatives are possible.

Staff development

Teaching community languages in schools which have traditionally repressed their development is being shown to require procedures and methodologies which differ widely from those in current use for teaching a second language or for teaching foreign languages. Many of the approaches referred to here and in an earlier account produced for the Third Assembly of the National Congress on Languages in Education (3) had to be developed during after-school sessions conducted between willing staff at Alperton High School during 1981 and 1982.

Later, with assistance from the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies Extra-Mural Department (SOAS), two series of day-release courses were set up for community language teachers from Brent, in 1983 and 1984. The nine sessions each lasted a whole day and were fixed for different days of the week in order to make sure that the same group of pupils were not consistently deprived of their regular teacher.

HOME SCHOOL LIAISON

Do you have letters to parents, school reports and other informational documents translated into the relevant community languages?

Do you encourage students to act as interpreters on open days, parents' evenings, etc?

Does the school publish a regular magazine including contributions in different languages?

EXTRACURRICULAR SUPPORT

Do you encourage out of school activities which display positively the various cultural heritages which students may have loyalties to? (eg, concerts, dances)

Do you arrange for films and other events to be presented in the relevant community languages?

Are bilingual children encouraged to take public exams in their community languages?

Does the school have language clubs or classes out of school time to support the different community languages?

Do the students use any particular community languages within their peer groups? (eg, in the playground and corridors)

MAINSTREAM CLASSROOMS

Are bilingual students encouraged to use their own scripts? (eg, in writing their names on their exercise books)

Are pupils freely allowed to use their respective community languages to assist one another in the classroom?

Are bilingual teaching materials made available for use in the normal classroom?

Are the implications of a multilingual population in the school taken into account in the syllabuses of your subject(s) (eg, in Maths/Social Studies/Computer Studies students might work on statistics relating to the different languages used in the school and locality)

WITHIN THE CURRICULUM

Are any of the community languages taught as subjects in the options scheme?

If community languages are taught, are they offered, do you feel, on a par with other languages? options?

Is there a general «Language Awareness» course prior to the students choosing particular language options?

Are any of the community languages used as media of instruction?

SCHOOL POLICY

Has a survey been conducted in the school to discover how many languages other than English are used by students at home and in their respective communities?

Where particular students may have limited English, is the school able to offer a diagnosis of learning difficulties via the student's preferred language?

Does the school have a deliberate policy of recruiting staff who can speak the languages used by the students?

Has a policy with regard to different community languages been discussed and adopted in your school?

Does the school library have books or tape-recorded material in different community languages?

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Does the school participate actively in the festivals and celebrations of the local linguistic communities?

Does the school liaise with voluntary community language classes occuring in the neighbourhood?

Does the school encourage links with the feeder primaries and nurseries with a view to providing continuity in the mainstream of community languages?

Do people from the various linguistic communities come to your school to help in classes and in other ways? (eg in cookery demonstrations, exhibitions)

Are the linguistic communities fairly represented in the Parent Teacher Association and Board of Governors?

Is your school involved in any specific ongoing projects which bring it closer to particular linguistic communities?

PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

Do you know which languages are spoken by pupils in your class(es)?

Do the students use any particular community languages within their peer group?

Do you encourage them to use these languages in class?

Do you display notices, posters and signs in the different community languages?

Do you have any classroom materials in different community languages?

Are you learning any of the languages used by your students?

Do you have direct contact with local linguistic communities?

Do you encourage your students to learn one another's languages?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 1: MEASURES FOR PROMOTING COMMUNITY LANGUAGES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

All of the sessions were carefully prepared beforehand, and whenever possible, lesson outlines and sample teaching materials were duplicated and sent to all participants in good time, so that they could study these before the relevant session.

The principal method of staff development employed was to invite teachers to present a particular aspect of their methodologies by a simulation of the teaching itself, but more theoretical issues such as catering for a wide range of attainment, and monitoring of progress were also investigated. The discussion held at SOAS greatly advanced the process of devising appropriate methods for bringing pupils who had no family connections with Gujarati into the same learning context as mother tongue speakers.

Integrated classes

It has been argued that totally integrated community language classes can never cater for the actual learning needs of the mother tongue speakers in them (4). The latter are felt to be at a disadvantage, especially when mother tongue classes occupy only a few hours a week. It must be recognised that there may be greater value in arrangements where integrated lessons alternate with separate provision, or exist side by side with community-based classes. The first casualties of the integrated classes at Alperton were, however, those students who had no family connection with the language, or who used it very little at home. The range of attainment between ab initio learners and pupils who had hitherto repressed their knowledge of Gujarati proved after a few weeks to be so narrow that with some pieces of set written work the former group actually performed better. When the collaborative strategies proposed in the SOAS course worked well, it became evident that for the most fluent speakers the discipline of explaining features of their mother tongue to other learners promoted an awareness of structure along with a growth of self-confidence and social competence.

Challenges and constraints

The apparent autonomy of British schools undoubtedly offers opportunities for the kind of classroom-based experimentation which may be impeded by tighter systems of state control elsewhere in Europe. But this is not to say that a decentralised education sytem can not operate its own constraints against innovation. The framework for promoting a particular community language - Gujarati - which has been evolved in Alperton High School, Brent, does give some insights into how a language policy for a particular locality and a particular school may be formulated.

During 1983 a list was compiled of the major constraints and challenges facing the Alperton High School Community Language Project. The major blocks to progress remained the structure of the school timetable, the lack of valid and recognised certification for bilingual language skills, the

magnitude of the personal commitment required for adequate staff development and the absence of funding that resulted in part from a lack of political will to promote linguistic diversity on the part of those dispensing the reduced funding now available in the maintained section of education.

Although the conclusions to be drawn as to what educational reforms are both possible and valid have to be based firmly within an honest appraisal of the socio-political context in which one is operating, it would seem from our work at Alperton that many of the perspectives currently offered by socio-linguists are over deterministic; they leave little room for the concerted intervention of committed teachers like ourselves in attempting to raise the institutional status of the languages used by particular communities.

The covert intentions behind national education systems in sorting school leavers into particular categories which predetermine access to further training and to employment have been convincingly described as an ongoing and ineluctible conspiracy against the disadvantaged. This conspiracy theory, perhaps most clearly expounded by Althusser (5) can be used to explain why significant numbers of pupils emerge from compulsory schooling imbued with passivity and a deep sense of personal failure: «the reproduction of labour power requires not only a reproduction of its skills, but also at the same time a reproduction of its submission to the rules of the established order, ie, a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression».

Language policies in schools throughout the world have been shown to reinforce the processes described by Althusser. Languages of rule, or of social acceptance, form the medium for learning in such a way as to discriminate against users of other forms of communication: success within a national education system for children whose community culture is different often comes in exchange for a damaging rejection of that cultural difference. The assessment of proficiency in selected modern and classical languages has moreover often been used as a measure of a person's rejection of their culture of origin, and as a measure of future aptitude to «manipulate ruling ideology correctly» in the selection of candidates for university entrance. Many courses still require knowledge of a «modern language»: many departments of British universities are slow in recognising that Gujarati is also a modern language.

SHUTNABB-KANGAS (6) has shown the way in which recommendations made by researchers with reference to the children of migrants in Scandinavia and in West Germany have resulted in absolute opposites in terms of language policy, opposites which nevertheless mean that as groups

the linguistic minorities have little chance of economic and social progress. Of course the policies described are not polar opposites in that neither of them offers a potentially unified model of intercultural education such as has been proposed above: both offer to «guest workers» or «immigrants» a different experience of education from that available to the rest of the population.

No teacher except the most cynically pragmatic is a conscious or willing accomplice in the erosion of pupils' self confidence and their reduction to passivity which has been described by STUBBS (7) and many others studying linguistics in education.

When we place ourselves in any teaching situation we need to ask what it is that we are trying to achieve. Different colleagues, even amongst those contributing constructively to our project, have widely different answers to the question, depending not only on their skills, but also on their underlying philosophy. Pragmatists might say that their main aim is to equip young people with the kind of skills they need to survive in society as it is, while a liberal might aim to go further towards providing adolescents with the greatest possible range of choices upon leaving school: idealists would want to give all children an equal chance to succeed. A humanist would concentrate on discovering and developing the peculiar talents of a particular child and a conservative would attempt to preserve the values inherited from our historical heritage. A socialist would discourage competition in favour of co-operation and the development of rewarding relationships with others, whilst a marxist would hope to inculcate methods of social analysis which could enable a person not just to interpret reality, but also to change it. There are contradictions between the different attitudes and their practical consequences, especially for those of us who are sufficiently eclectic to be able to subscribe to a combination of them.

It has to be stated here that the two authors do not themselves jointly hold a rigorously unified and internally coherent theory. In common with many of our teaching colleagues we are concerned to counteract the effects of the education system - of which we are a product and part - in making a priori classifications of particular groups of school students: we are also deeply committed to opposing institutional racism wherever we encounter it.

The underlying drift of the enquiry which we wish to share with colleagues is towards democratising the process of language learning in the secondary phase of education and towards increasing the autonomy of the learners involved. This means that in addition to analysing the context in which community language teachers are operating, such teachers as ourselves will also need help in analysing the language varieties to be promoted and the strategies which successful

learners of those language varieties have employed. Above all we need to make ourselves part of the wider movement to extend the acceptance and use of community languages not solely in schools but in the society as a whole.

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SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNERS AND THE MAINSTREAM CURRICULUM: LEARNING AS WE GO

Josie LEVINE

Second-language learners, that is developing bilinguals, are normal school students. They can engage, disengage, be committed to, become alienated from school learning. They can acquire knowledge, reject it, take risks or refuse to do so. Come what may, though, each individual will develop a use of the languages and language varieties around them to the degree it makes educational, political, social and/or psychological sense to do so to them, given the environment each inhabits. The extent to which positive options are taken up - as with all school students - will depend as much on the social and learning environments each is in as it does on what they themselves bring to the situation. This paper is concerned with teachers coming to understand and put into practice the kinds of support necessary for developing bilinguals to do both their learning and their language learning in the context of normality - albeit a normality that has a special gloss on it. Some aspects of the practice of teachers who are developing structures and teaching styles which include second-language learners centrally within mainstream thinking will be described. Collaboration, interaction and negotiation between teachers, teachers and students, between students, and between school and home are hallmarks of this curriculum work. All of it is instructive both for developing a use of a second language and also for the education of all in a multicultural, multilingual society.

ESL provision in the United Kingdom: a Sketch

We are at an interesting point in what is, after all, a relatively short period of provision for English as a second-language in the United Kingdom. We had little in the early 60s, and children from non-English speaking families plainly suffered educationally and emotionally from being left to cope with lessons and to pick up the language as best they might. Teachers, too, were in difficulty there being no reservoir of expertise to which they could go for help.

In the late 60s came the work of creating specialist provision. Organised on a withdrawal basis, it had the aim of preparing children to take their places in normal classes. Some authorities organised a peripatetic service, teachers visiting three or four schools in a week with students going to English lessons in accordance with the teacher's time in the school. Others additionally organised language centres to which children went; in some areas full-time, and in others for half a day every day. Withdrawal from the mainstream eased the burden of some teachers, especially when it was full-time withdrawal. For the children, the special language classes often became a haven from unsupported learning and from racism.

The materials used in this special language teaching were developed from the practice of English teaching abroad, basically embodying a structural-situational approach to language teaching. By the early 70s this withdrawal provision and the growing expertise that went along with it was well established. This expertise reassured some: second-language learners were being looked after; and paradoxically, left others in the mainstream of schooling, with the feeling that they had no role to play in the language learning of the second-language learners who might half-time be attending language classes and half-time be in their classes.

Within the special service itself there emerged a growing realisation that children needed to be prepared for the kinds of lessons they would go to and the content they would meet in the mainstream. In language teaching terms a functional-communicative approach was being initiated which reflected a broader view of what language is, of what learning to use it entails, and also of what learners' needs in schools might be. It did not supplant the previous provision and approach, although, since the late 70s, along with developments in anti-racist and mixed ability teaching, it has caused some of us seriously to question withdrawal provision as well as the ethnocentric and static content of school curriculum.

What we are looking to do is get second-language learners back into the mainstream of a school into a whole learning environment where they can be supported in their language-learning, and also to develop strategies among all teachers for doing it. The Royal Society of Arts has an award bearing in-service course, «The Teaching of English as a Second-Language in Multi-cultural Schools», which recently revised, is jointly directed at people who wish to become specialist language teachers, and at subject and class teachers who want to know more about second-language teaching and learning in order to do their normal teaching better. Organisational dilemmas in each school remain though. For example, whether or not to create mini-language centres on site; how to initiate a fruitful collaboration between specialist language teachers and subject teachers when people have not been used to such collaborations.

June DERRICK (1977) in «Language needs of minority group children» describes and comments on some of this background. «Scope, Stage 1» (Schools Council, 1969) is a good, and published example of the structural-situational approach to language teaching as used in the United Kingdom, and «Scope, Stage 2, a language development course» (Schools Council, 1972) of a functional-communicative approach which takes as its context school learning (2). It should be noted that I quote these two sets of «Scope» materials as examples of approaches which are available, because of being published, for scrutiny. I do not wish to imply by it that teachers do not create their own resources, develop their own strategies, or use other published materials.

Further, in so briefly and blandly outlining the history of ideas and practice in ESL provision in the United Kingdom, it should not be understood that the case for second-language learners being in mainstream classes doing mainstream work is yet generally accepted. The work and thinking which is reported here, with other work like it, should strengthen the case beginning to be pressed both from within the ranks of specialist language teachers, and also now, from some mainstream teachers working for a curriculum that responds to the needs of the many kinds of diversity in multilingual, multicultural classrooms and schools. That is to say that the issue we are addressing is not just a question of what is best for second-language learners. It is a larger one: that of what organisations and strategies have the best potential for creating, for all learners, equal access to the starting point of their learning and understanding.

Our starting points are an eclectic set of educational and linguistic theory and practice: language for learning, language across the curriculum, the teaching and learning of English as mother-tongue, the teaching and learning of English as a second-language, mixed ability, collaborative learning.

Meeting the demands of diversity

As in the past, so today the diversity in our classrooms of issues and people (gender, race, culture, class, ability, individual differences, linguistic differences) is undoubtedly a professional challenge, and teachers' responses to it vary. Some ignore it, pretend it isn't there, making not even small moves in content and teaching style towards the students' starting points. In this situation, it is the students who must make the journey to meet the teachers and the demands of the school curriculum. Others recognise diversity but feel fragmented and daunted by what they see to be its demands to prepare different material for every student. A third group, in which we count ourselves, views diversity as constructive - the stuff out of which we become better teachers.

Narrative of a move from withdrawal ESL teaching into mainstream

Ann BURGESS and Leon GORE

We are going to argue that second-language learners should be in mainstream classes rather than the situation we more commonly encounter where second-language pupils are withdrawn to be taught away from the general run of mainstream activities. This more common situation not only institutionalises second-language pupils into failure but also compounds the difference between second-language pupils and other members of the community. Divisions within our multicultural society are thus hardened. Furthermore, on educational grounds, separation of second-language learners from the curriculum followed by all the other pupils cannot be theoretically justified since, in practice, it leads to both their curriculum and social learning being impoverished, and thus both language and intellectual development is held up. It also means that the burden of joining in is always placed on the newcomers and never on those already established in the mainstream.

It is not enough, however, to put second-language pupils into mainstream classes in the hope that they will «swim». They will need support, and that support must be of the right kind - otherwise, even in the mainstream classes the worst features of their previous separation can be exacerbated. For example, though the second-language learners may be in a mainstream classroom they could still remain a very separate group. Their sense of failure could increase with incomprehension of work set, and their inability to cope with tasks set can feed other pupils' views of them as being of low status within the group. In consequence, though we are advocating that second-language learners should be in mainstream groups, it can only be a successful move if strategies to counteract these problems are developed.

The arguments we make here are based on personal experience, first as separate specialist language teacher and mainstream English teacher, and then in joint teaching of mainstream English lessons where second-language learners are included in the mixed ability class.

Before February 1980, the second-language teaching practice in John Kelly Boys School was typical of standard practice: withdrawal for language lessons where the focus was on the teaching of structures. Second-language pupils were considered the responsibility of the English as a Second Language Department and their admission to mainstream subject was held back until such a time as they were judged to have attained a «satisfactory» level of English. Assessment in the first place was made by the special language teachers, but because «satisfactory» is a shifting, relative description of achievement, this initial assessment was often over-ruled

by subject teachers. No matter how «successful» a pupil had been in the withdrawal class she or he could be judged never to have achieved a satisfactory level merely by upward changing of the criteria.

The effect of this worrying situation was that children could leave school with an inadequate educational experience and attainment, a low level of language achievement in English, and furthermore, without the experience of positive interaction with their peers in other groups.

Following brief discussion, we made a decision to team-teach one of our mainstream English classes and to include in it second-language pupils. We argued that the greater range of language that the second-language pupils would be exposed to would enable them to bring their natural learning abilities to bear on the situation, and that this, combined with the fact that the tasks set would present a greater intellectual challenge than the pre-selected language structures (hard to internalise because not learned in use) would, through the struggle for language, create a dynamic language learning environment. In addition, we hoped for a greater social integration, for an increase in confidence in second-language learners' approach to school work, and that they would come to view themselves in a better light.

Our first task was to arrive at a way of working together. It would have been very easy for the specialist language teacher to sit in one corner of the room with the second-language learners, following the lead of the mainstream English teacher, but we could see only how that kind of joint teaching would reinforce differences and even harden attitudes against second-language learners.

We needed to establish a way of working which could act as an example to the pupils. The specialist language teacher had to be seen as equal to the mainstream teacher by the pupils within the classroom. It was therefore important to work towards our roles becoming interchangeable. Planning lessons together (and not just one teacher following the others' lead) was one of the most important factors in enabling us to function within the classroom as equals. As important was the decision taken that second-language pupils would attempt the same tasks as the rest of the mixed ability class. However, if there was to be no special work for the second-language learners to do, then we had to take special care that the tasks set would be accessible to them and that we organised the lessons so that the best support possible was available to them. Such support consists of group work, pair work, talking through with a teacher, being in contact with a range of different models of writing, careful teacher introductions, support lessons.

A third element in our success is the place we give to talk in our work. Talk means interaction and a seeking towards collaboration. What has become salient for us is that this mode of working together, of collaborative learning, is a mode and an attitude of mind that need to permeate not only pupil-pupil interactions, but also those between teacher and pupils, teacher and pupil and teachers and teachers.

Having concluded that second-language learners needed exposure to a greater and richer variety of language than had previously been the case if they were to learn to use it effectively, it was necessary to organise the class so that this richness and variety was available to them both to hear and use. Hence talk, and learning through talk, took priority. Working in groups with the teachers acting as consultants as well as leading the class of working in support groups became our principle modes of working. Second-language learners had access then both to pupil-teacher talk and pupil-pupil talk.

We discovered, too, that we had to think hard about the compositions of groups if our aims were to be achieved. All the pupils had to be grouped so that the working groups were mixed ability, mixed experience, mixed first and second-language users of English, and, crucially, multi-ethnic. We use the phrase «crucially multi-ethnic» because we needed to take on the racism present, in this particular classroom, of students from West Indian backgrounds against Asian pupils.

We decided on one way of breaking down racism and suspicion between ethnic groups in the class. We took the risk of composing working groups ourselves; the pupils would not have free choice of who they worked with. Not unnaturally, there was some initial resistance to such an imposition, but our basic relationship with the class was good, and they recognised that this was something about which we were very determined. If not by magic, nevertheless an increasingly notable feature of this class was the growth of good relations and racial harmony. The fact is that the very strategies of openness, interaction and support which we were developing for second-language pupils were equally applicable to the rest of the mixed ability class. It was an unlooked for but critical benefit of what happened when we looked for ways of teaching second-language learners; we have improved our teaching and learning processes to a point where we believe it can play a part not only in school learning but also in countering racism in education.

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AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

Inge HOFMANS-OKKES

Introduction

Non-native students even if they speak quite reasonable Dutch, often have great difficulty in reading and understanding textbooks, be they books on geography, chemistry or general technology. All teachers recognise this phenomenon; at most they disagree about the causes. Teachers often wonder «whatever do the second language teachers do with the students in those extra language lessons?», while the language teachers themselves grumble about the textbooks that are being used - textbooks which are, according to them, filled with texts which the students find difficult and not easily accessible.

I do not know exactly what the students themselves think of this situation, but it is my guess that they would agree with both sides.

At a big inner-city lower vocational school with approximately 60% foreign students, where I as a teacher trainer provide in-service training, the staff are faced with these problems; despite a variety of extra second language lessons non-native students continue to have problems comprehending written materials, even in the higher years.

What causes this and what can be done about it? In this paper I will first elaborate on the two aforementioned causes: are school textbooks really that difficult to comprehend? And what happens during those extra lessons of Dutch as a second language? Finally I will tell you about how we are trying to improve the situation in that particular school.

School textbooks

It will not come as a surprise to you to hear that most school textbooks are indeed far from perfect. This is not so hard to understand if one realises that most teachers and textbook writers are primarily interested in the subject matter they want to put across (the Wars of the Roses, the reproduction of mammals, or Archimedes' Principle). Their attention is focused foremost on what they want to say, and not so much on how they will say it. This situation leads to a number of «standard problems» in textbooks of which I now will mention a few.

Textbooks are often messy, jumping from one topic to another, at least so it seems to the student; the writer knows what he is driving at and how things will eventually fit together. To the student, however, it is often just a puzzle which he is left to solve on his own. On top of which writers

usually try to explain as much as possible in as few words as possible. In itself that is very sensible; why use more words than necessary? After all, every teacher knows how quickly students protest when asked to learn long texts.

But in practice the shortness of texts is at best a dubious advantage. Short texts are often so compact and so full of information, that they become incomprehensible to the students. One example will suffice to illustrate this point.

In a widely used Dutch history textbook for 12/13 year olds heresy and inquisition are explained as follows:

«11. Renewed decline

We left the church during its heyday in the 12th and 13th century.

This period ended just as the one in the 9th century: again the church got into great difficulties. You have already seen that the Popes had primarily become rulers. Besides discipline in the monastries had slackened and wealth increased. The situation was at its worst in the 14th and 15th century. The heresies attracted more and more followers. The church dealt with this through the inquisition. This body's task was to track down and eliminate heretics. The inquisition was very effective. Many heretical movements were exterminated. Still the church was threatened, especially when in the late Middle Ages scientists at the universities adopted many heretical ideas. The church couldn't defend itself against them.

11a What are heresies?
What caused their increase?

11b What was the purpose of the Inquisition?»

(from: W F KALKWIEK, Geschiedenis in onderwerpen, Amsterdam, 1978, p 155).

In the first place the students can not answer question 11a with the information given. Furthermore, I really wonder if 12/13 year old students have even a remote idea of the meaning of slackening discipline in the monastries; and what about increasing wealth combined with the statement that it was at its worst in the 14th and 15th century? Is wealth so objectionable? And why is it so bad that the Popes were primarily rulers? And what were those heretical ideas which were adopted by scientists at the universities in the late Middle Ages? And why couldn't the church defend itself against them? Questions, questions and more questions. But 12/13 year olds will not ask them. At best they will look out of the window and wait for the lesson to finish. And then

I have not even mentioned how culture-bound this subject matter is, which might cause extra problems for non-Catholics.

The next thing I want to mention about textbooks is their predeliction for definitions, which often are very difficult.

> A prime number is one divisable only by itself or unity.
>
> Liquids which decompose when an electric current passes through them, are called electrolytes.

I realise that these short sentences and definition-type descriptions, even of more abstract concepts such as democracy, revolution etc, are given with the best of intentions. In the first place the teacher or writer does think the texts are comprehensible because he himself very well understands the subject matter. Moreover, as I have said before, he has learnt from experience that students easily find texts too long. Nevertheless somebody who has to learn what heresy, prime numbers and electrolytes are, needs longer texts.

Another problem lies in the choice of examples and comparisons. The writer of the following excerpt wanted to use as a starting point something that was familiar to the students - a good educational principle - namely how water runs from a tap.

> «Electricity is almost the same as water. The difference is that while water flows through a pipe, electricity passes through metal. If you cut an electrical wire, you will most probably see that it is made of copper, because electricity easily passes through copper. When does electricity start circulating? Water starts running if you turn on the tap. So you first have to use water in order to make it run. If the tap is closed, you can't use water. The water in the pipe does not flow. It is the same with electricity. You have to use electricity in order to make it start circulating.»
>
> (From: «Home made» material on electricity, Lower Technical Vocational School, Utrecht)

You could say that the idea is not bad: the unknown (electricity) is compared with the known (plumbing). However, in this wording the comparison is a rather crooked one. It is not fair to say that electricity is almost the same as water. Such a statement will probably do more to confuse matters than to clarify them. Furthermore, it is, of course, perfectly acceptable to compare a tap to a switch, but the obvious difference is that one can run a tap «just like that», while electricity really has to be used.

The usage in textbooks of difficult words and complicated sentence structures is well known and the problems mentioned so far naturally apply to all students, although it is predictable that the lesser one's command of a language, the more problems one will have with these kind of texts. There are others which apply especially to non-native students.

Special problems for second-language learners

Learning a second language is a long-term process. According to some researchers it takes a period of four years before one gets to the stage of being able to function fully in school. Other more pessimistic researchers even mention considerably longer periods. Whichever it may be, one thing is clear: many non-native students in secondary schools are still in the middle of the process of second language acquisition.

Their task becomes even more complicated because they have to learn both everyday language and various kinds of jargon. In physics, for example, we come across the question of how to determine the mass of objects, but in everyday language it is wrong to say the mass of objects, it should be masses of objects. Similarly the various jargons possess all kinds of expressions which are either impossible in everyday language or have a different meaning.

If the student is given a recipe during a lesson in home economics, there are so many variables possible within the instructions that he will not automatically understand them. It is up to him to discover that the following sentences all mean the same:

- if the water boils, the pan can be taken off the cooker;
- take the pan off the cooker as soon as the water boils;
- as soon as the water boils the pan can be taken off the cooker;
- you can take the pan off the cooker as soon as the water boils;
- you must take off the pan from the cooker when the water boils;
- is the water boiling? then take the pan off the cooker;
- etc.

And how is he to know that when his maths teacher uses the following statements, that he is referring to the same thing?:

- this line is 10 cm long;
- this line is 10 cm;
- this line measures 10 cm;
- the length of this line is 10 cm.

Sometimes textbook writers seem to be doing literary exercises; they exhaust themselves in continually finding ever new wordings for the same thing:

«MATTER AND VOLUME

Matter is the name which we give to everything that has weight and occupies space. Matter can have three states: solid, liquid and gaseous. All matter, except that which decomposes when heated, such as wood, can be made to change state. Solid matter can be made liquid and a liquid can be turned into a gas. Vice versa a gas can assume a liquid state and a liquid in its turn can become solid.

Solid matter such as ice can assume a liquid state and become water; and that water can change into a gas and become steam. Steam can become water and after that ice.»

(From: «home made» lesson material for 13/14 year olds, Scholengemeenschap, Arnhem)

In this short text exactly six wordings are used for the changing of states, namely:

- can be made to change state;
- can be made;
- can turn into;
- can assume a ... state
- can change into;
- can become.

It will be obvious that if a student does not recognise these sentences to be synonymous (native speakers will do, but many non-natives will not), he will have great difficulty in understanding this text.

Dutch as a second language lessons

I will now deal with the other question I asked at the beginning of this paper: how is the teaching of Dutch as a second language organised?

In the Netherlands there is no fixed procedure for the arrangement of those extra facilities intended for the reception of students whose mother tongue is not Dutch. If a student does not know any or hardly any Dutch, he can be put in a so-called reception class, but those are only to be found at schools where a great number of recently arrived non-native students are enrolled. If a school does not have a reception class, it is primarily left to chance how and when foreign students learn Dutch. When these students once go into the regular education system - the law allows for a maximum of two years in a reception class - it depends on that particular school whether or not they will be given extra Dutch lessons. Some schools, quite rightly in my view, judge a period of two years wholly insufficient for the achievement of any real success in school. Therefore they set aside money in the school budget for the provision of extra tuition in Dutch. However, some schools have different priorities. And that is up to them: the authorities have no say in this.

As for mother tongue teaching: only primary schools get facilities; in secondary education there is no «official» mother tongue teaching, though some communities see to it in Saturday schools. The teaching of Dutch as a second language in secondary education is usually done by teachers of Dutch. In some cases they have been specially trained as second language teachers, but mostly they have not. Until quite recently there was not any colleges where one could be trained for this. This means that many teachers who teach Dutch as second language are in fact mother tongue teachers. Consequently they may bring more enthusiasm than expertise to their work in this area.

In general schools use one of the available Dutch textbooks as a second language textbook. (Incidentally, there are not that many such textbooks, in contrast to the situation, for instance, in Britain where there has been a long tradition of teaching English as a second language. In the Netherlands this is not the case. After all, it was not until quite recently that large groups of immigrants wanted to learn Dutch - before only a few thought it useful). A main characteristic of these textbooks is that they stress being able to produce correct sentences in real life situations: at the doctor's, at the post office, in the shops etc. They do not only do this at beginner's level (for students recently arrived), but also at advanced levels. A lot of attention is given to the grammatical and orthographical characteristics of Dutch.

To illustrate this I will show you a randomly chosen exercise from a textbook of the kind I am referring to:

«FILL IN

Wij rijden naar Utrecht	- Vanavond rijden wij naar Utrecht
Jullie kopen lekkere taartjes	- Vanochtend .....
Zij duiken van de duikplank	- Vanmiddag .....
Hij trakteert op chocolaatjes	- Vanmorgen .....
Zij meet de gordijnen	- Vanavond .....

OR:

We are driving to Utrecht	- Tonight we are driving to Utrecht
You are buying nice cakes	- This morning .....
They are diving from the diving-board	- This afternoon .....
He is treating everybody to chocolates	- This morning .....
She is measuring the curtains	- Tonight .....»

In this exercise a grammatical characteristic of Dutch would be explained and practised, namely: any word or phrase coming before the subject in a sentence requires the inversion of subject and verb. (Note: if the inversion rule is not applied in Dutch, the resulting sentences would be as ungrammatical as the following is in English: «this afternoon are we going to Utrecht.»

I am definitely not arguing that students should not learn these kind of rules. Naturally, the ultimate aim of second language teaching is that students be able to express themselves correctly in Dutch in any given situation. The question is not in the first place about whether they should learn these rules or not, but how and when.

For most students in secondary education the problem is not social talk. They can mostly communicate quite effectively in very diverse situations, but nevertheless they cannot read and understand their textbooks well enough. Certainly the textbooks are partly to blame for this; as I said before, they are often messy and abstract, and much of their message is left implicit. But the approach to the teaching of Dutch as a second language is also to blame.

In second language teaching students are confronted with a great number of individual sentences which serve to explain grammar and spelling rules. But, generally, very little is done about those skills which students need so much: being able to read and understand texts, whilst every teacher knows how much success in school depends on these skills. If you cannot understand the textbooks properly, you have little chance of doing well in school. The inversion rule is not very useful in training reading comprehension - leaving aside the question of whether rules are learnt by doing this kind of fill-in exercise.

Apart from the emphasis on correctness another observation can be made about the exercise I just showed. The vocabulary used, as I have said before, comes from everyday life. In this case, frankly speaking, from a rather odd life. Which Dutch person, or any person for that matter, would ever use a sentence like tonight she is measuring the curtains or this afternoon they are diving from the diving-board? I can honestly swear that I have not until this point used these sentences before. That might sound a bit silly, but in any case one can argue that there is very little relationship between this kind of text and vocabulary and those which students are confronted with in their textbooks. These books are about history, geography, science, biology etc and they are written in text-book language using a lot of subject related jargon.

Towards a different approach

I have tried to make clear both how badly textbooks are geared towards the needs and capacities of students and how little the general practice of second language teaching - at least in the Netherlands - is based on an analysis of what students need to know and be able to do in order to become achievers in secondary education. I will now expand to an approach which will at least reduce a number of the problems I have mentioned above.

The school where I provide in-service training, is a big inner-city lower vocational school situated in the Schilderswijk in The Hague, where many immigrants live. The school population is entirely made up of boys - incidently, not a deliberate policy: girls are welcome, but they simply do not enroll for this technical vocational training, like car mechanics, metal work, electric engineering etc. About 60% of the students are non-native; of that 60% about half come from Mediterranean countries, specifically Turkey and Morocco; the other half come from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles. The school has a reception class, because there still is a high influx of students that hardly speak any Dutch. Besides this, extra Dutch lessons are given for those students who are already being taught in the regular classes, but whose Dutch is still inadequate. In this respect the situation in this school is extraordinarily good. However, the kind of approach to second language teaching which I described above, had been adopted here, too; and the school's textbooks suffer a great deal from the kind of shortcomings I have already mentioned.

As it was obvious that the problems were on both sides, we started by making two groups: one made up of teachers of the many technical subjects and the other made up of teachers of Dutch as a second language. I do a course with the group of technical subject teachers which focuses on making them aware of the kind of problems non-native learners are faced with. These problems arise mainly from the textbook language, but of course also from the language the teachers themselves use.

Subject teachers should realise that they are also language teachers, whether they like it or not, and when teaching non-native students they even become second language teachers. I say whether they like it or not because basically subject teachers are of the opinion that language teaching is not their job. But a subject teacher can really help his students with second language acquisition. An extensive description of what this entails falls outside the scope of this paper, but I will mention a few of the most important aspects here.

Subject teachers and textbooks use a lot of synonyms or synonymous wordings. The fact that this causes problems for the non-native students does not mean that teachers ought to stop here - far from it. In the first place it is too much to ask and in the second place you would not be doing the students a favour in the long run; they must learn to recognise synonymous wordings sometime. Subject teachers should become aware of their use of language and they should, wherever possible, point out to the students different ways of saying the same thing. For instance, one can say this cube weighs 100 grams, but one can also say: this cube is 100 grams in weight, or: the weight of this cube is 100 grams. Practice shows that teachers, once they have been put on the right track, are very capable of detecting instances of this in their own use of language.

Another important point is, that subject teachers should get into the habit of making language an important part of practical lessons, much more than they generally do at present. Excellent opportunities for doing this occur during practical lessons like electrical engineering, car mechanics, metal work etc. To start with the teacher should, whilst demonstrating certain procedures, also explain them verbally: put into words what he is doing in as many different ways as possible. Later, when the student has finished his assignment, the teacher should not only check the result, for example check whether the student has put on a plug or drilled a hole properly, but also get the student to say exactly what he did, in what order and possibly which problems or setbacks he encountered. In this way students will also get language practice during these classes and not only during those intended as such. Moreover, they will then get practice in those fields which are of utmost importance to them.

That brings me to the content of the in-service training course with the other group: the teachers of Dutch as a second language. They too should focus on what is most important for their students. What is most important is not social talk, because firstly the students have usually a good command of it and secondly will learn it outside school anyway. Rather, what is of real importance, is what I will label school language: the language used in textbooks and by teachers; in the first place they need to learn to read and understand that language: what is my teacher saying and what does this text say? I do not mean of course that non-native

students need not acquire an active command of Dutch; I am simply concerned with priorities here, and the highest priority is definitely not that students should learn to actively produce school language, let alone spell it correctly too.

I hope I have made clear that, in my opinion, the lesson materials that students have to work with in other subjects, should be taken as a starting point for the production of useful material for the extra Dutch lessons. In this way language lessons can be made, based on a systematic analysis of what students need to know or be able to do to work with these texts. This analysis should deal both with the content - derdetermining what the most important concepts the students have to master are - and with linguistic aspects of these texts - which structures - words, expressions are characteristic of these texts.

Ideally the analysis of the content should be done in consultation with the subject teacher involved. He is the one who can best decide which words are important and not only seem to be so in relation to the overall curriculum. After all a word can often occur in one or a number of lessons, but still be rather unimportant in following lessons. And vice-versa: sometimes something is only dealt with in passing, but the student is required to know it in later lessons all the same.

As far as the analysis of the linguistic aspects is concerned: the text on Matter and Volume I showed before demonstrated the use of a great variety of wordings for the changing of states. Even if the physics teacher was already very aware of the linguistic side of his subject, it would still be useful if the students were trained in recognising synonymous wordings not only in this text, but in similar ones as well - and that should be done in the extra Dutch language lessons. Moreover, the linguistic analysis of textbooks is not only concerned with all kinds of complicated structures or concepts: in technical subjects the understanding of instructions or explanations very often depends on knowing all kinds of very ordinary words like: between, underneath, on the bottom, along the top, past, up to and including etc.

I would now like to give a short demonstration of the kind of exercises that should result from this analysis: exercises which mainly focus on understanding. A text, taken from the general technology lesson serves as a starting point; the lessons involved are, because of the students they are meant for, about a boy named David, living in the Hague, and going to school there:

THE STEAM ENGINE

It is Tuesday. David's first lesson today is general technology. At the beginning of the lesson the teacher tells the class that they are going to work with a steam engine. The boys will be working in groups of three. A worksheet explains what they have to do. The instructions are as follows:

Filling the boiler

a. open the safety valve at the front of the boiler;
b. place the funnel on top of the boiler and fill it with water (preferably warm water);
c. fill the boiler up to the top red line, which can be found on the level indicator at the front.

Lighting the boiler

a. take 1 1/2 fuel blocks and put these on the fuel tray
b. check that the tap with the red handle is closed
c. unscrew the top of the oil inlet and put in a few drops of thick oil. Put the top back in position immediately
d. grease all the rotating parts with a few drops of thin oil
e. light the fuel blocks and put the fuel tray under the boiler. After about 6 to 8 minutes steam will develop in the boiler. You can see this by looking through the level indicator at the front of the boiler. Turn the flywheel a few times by hand as soon as steam starts developing.

   Open the red tap a little and set the steam engine in motion by hand. When the machine is running, the speed can be regulated by opening or closing the red tap.

David finds this all rather difficult. What exactly is he being asked to do?

EXERCISE 1

Does David have to do the following things, or not? Answer with yes or no.

1. He has to open the valve at the front of the boiler.

2. After that he first has to fill the funnel and then put it on the boiler.

3. He has to put oil in the fuel tray.

4. Before he puts the fuel tray under the boiler, he must light the fuel blocks.

5. The red tap should remain closed throughout.

6. The red tap should stay open all the time.

(The aim of this exercise is to train students in reading carefully; trained or acquired skills: recognising synonymous and non-synonymous words and phrases.) NOTE: the correct answers to the exercises can be found in Notes on the exercises, (page 100).

EXERCISE 2

The following text is about what David's friend John does in his group. They do a few things wrong. Underline what they are.

The boys in John's group quickly get down to work because they think it will be good fun to see the steam engine working. John opens the valve at the front of the boiler and puts water in it, using a funnel. He puts in as much as possible: the level is well over the red line. Next he puts half a fuel block in the fuel tray and sees if the red tap is properly closed. After he has unscrewed the top of the oil inlet, he puts in a few drops of thick oil. He leaves the top lying next to the inlet. Then he greases all the rotating parts with the same oil and after that he lights the fuel blocks and puts the fuel tray under the boiler. At first nothing happens, but after a while steam starts to form. The boys can see it clearly through the level indicator. Quickly John turns the flywheel a few times and waits for the steam engine to start to work.

(The aim of this exercise is more or less the same as for exercise 1; trained/acquired skills: recognising variations in instructions, also in those cases where the wording is only slightly different.)

EXERCISE 3

After the students have been watching the steam engines working for a while, they have to put the things back. Then the teacher says: «You must keep the worksheet, so you will not forget how to work a steam engine. Think up your own title, because I forgot to give it one.» The boys all give a title to the worksheet. They think up all kinds of titles. Below are a few examples.

Who has thought up the best title? Or rather, which title fits the worksheet best?

John has got: WHAT CAN YOU USE A STEAM ENGINE FOR?
David has got: HOW DOES A STEAM ENGINE WORK?
Abdul has got: HOW CAN YOU SET A STEAM ENGINE IN MOTION?
Mehmet has got: THE HISTORY OF THE STEAM ENGINE

(The aim of this exercise is training the students in «summarising»: choosing the best short title. Skills: to extract the general overall aim of an informative text.)

EXERCICE 4

The remaining titles could be the titles of other texts. Below are three short texts. Which titles fit them best? Choose from the titles mentioned above.

Text 1 - Title .....

The steam engine was invented by James Watt in 1796, but it could not be utilised effectively till 1788. It was the invention of the steam engine which made the Industrial Revolution possible.

Text 2 - Title .....

The steam engine works by utilising the energy contained in steams under high pressure. The energy that is released when steam expands, is made to produce rotary motion by means of a piston, connected to a crankshaft by a piston rod. One end of the crankshaft is provided with a flywheel to ensure smooth running.

Text 3 - Title .....

Steam engines can be used to drive all kinds of machinery. They are mostly used for machinery that converts the thermal energy contained in steam into mechanical energy which can then, if required, be converted into electrical energy.

(The aim of this exercise: training the students in skimming through a text; trained skills: to deduce from clues what the general content of a text will be. A secondary aim would be something like: not to be put off by texts which at first sight seem to be difficult.)

All these exercises have to be evaluated orally, after the students have first done them either individually or in small groups. The oral evaluation is of prime importance, because that is the moment when the problems can be discussed most effectively. The main concern with each answer is to determine how the student reached it, irrespective of whether the answer is right or wrong.

The most important characteristic of this kind of exercise is that students are forced to determine the exact meaning of what they are reading. While answering the questions they need not bother about problems which are not important at that particular time, problems such as: how do I say this, or how do I spell that; the multiple choice-type questions enable them to concentrate fully on comprehending the text.

Another important advantage of this approach is that students learn how to extract as much information as possible from a text without consulting a dictionary, textbook or vocabulary list. In this way they are forced to ask themselves questions like: what would ... mean. This is a very useful skill for a second language learner to have, because for many years he will be coming across words and expressions he does not know and cannot look up at that particular moment. In that case guessing is a good strategy, but one you do have to learn to use.

I have tried to give you some insight into the integrated approach we employ to help pupils who have to learn in their second language more effectively. The results so far seem to be good, though they are not yet based on thorough, scientific investigations. In any case, there seems to be reason enough to go on focusing primarily on the understanding of school language. Of course attention to active usage and correctness is given as well - but correct usage is not of prime importance. After all, what is so bad about a non-native student saying: This morning am I treating everybody to chocolates, demonstrating that he has not yet learnt a particular word order rule? Besides, what help is it to him if he can say: This morning I am treating everybody to chocolates and This afternoon they are diving from the diving-board and Tonight my aunt is measuring the curtains - if he does not know what to do when his instruction in the general technology lesson reads: Unscrew the screw at the back and put the plate in position.?

NOTES ON THE EXERCISES

Exercise 1

valve = safety valve
place the funnel ... and fill it with water = first you have
place the funnel ... and then to fill it with water
oil ≠ 1 1/2 fuel blocks
light the fuel blocks with a match and put the fuel tray under the boiler = before putting the fuel tray under the boiler, you must light the fuel blocks
throughout ≠ later, not at first
all the time ≠ later, not at first

Exercise 2

he puts the water in the funnel = he has to fill the boiler with water
he puts in as much as possible ... over the red line ≠ he has to fill the boiler with water up to the top red line
half a ≠ 1 1/2
sees if ≠ checks if
leaves lying next to the inlet ≠ put back in position immediately
thick oil and thin oil ≠ the same kind of oil
after that = now

It is imperative for students to know a number of these interchangeable wordings, particularly because these are freely substituted in the instructions.

Exercise 3

Abdul gives the right answer.

Exercise 4

Text 1: The history of the steam engine.
Text 2: How does a steam engine work?
Text 3: What can you use a steam engine for?

It is explicitly not the intention to analyse the texts in this exercise in depth. The point is, that students should be able to deduce from the clues what the text probably is about (the dates in the historical text, the word use in the text about possible usages and the complicated jargon in the text about how the steam engine works).

MANIFESTO ON LANGUAGE RIGHTS

We are opposed to all forms of discrimination, be they on the grounds of race, sex, beliefs, culture or language. We hold that all language systems are of equal intrinsic value but we recognise that there is a hierarchy in the status accorded to different languages and in the power which they wield. Often the lack of a particular variety of language - which we will call the dominant language - corresponds to a lack of power and opportunity for personal development.

We assume a general right to self-expression in the forms of language of one's own choosing. In order to guarantee this right certain measures have to be enacted in the field of educational provision.

The starting point must lie in the linguistic and cultural knowledge already possessed by the child if a proper continuity is to be maintained between the language of the home and the language of schooling.

For a successful policy in a multilingual society, at least two languages have to be integrated in the school system in such a way as to ensure the right to choose the balance of language and culture which best meets the desired identity of the individual. The necessary statutory provision for home/community language learning as well as for the manipulation of the dominant language has to meet the aspirations of the different linguistic groups, if the ability to participate fully in a democratic pluralist society is to be safeguarded.

As parts of a consistent policy to provide language learning opportunities and the opportunity of becoming bilingual for all students, we call for:

- a positive, non-oppressive approach to each pupil's linguistic expression;

- provision of home/community language instruction and second language instruction by adequately trained teachers with the appropriate cultural and linguistic knowledge and experience;

- access to, as well as participation and development in, the dominant language: this entails full access to the content of the school curriculum and the language that it employs;

- full access to home/community language teaching incorporated within the school curriculum in equality with other subjects;

- optional access to a further range of languages within the period of statutory schooling;

In order to develop a teaching force which can cater for these requirements the following measures are essential;

- the employment and promotion of teachers from all cultural and linguistic groups to whom the students best relate;

- teacher training facilities which are open to students of all linguistic and cultural backgrounds;

- purpose-designed tuition for intending teachers, where their successful operation in the classroom requires it: this may involve teacher training courses conducted in languages other than the dominant one;

- special training programmes in language teaching methods incorporated into the teacher training provision;

- the promotion of a general awareness of language issues in schools and in the wider society.

There is a clear responsibility on the part of all schools to promote the cultural values and social welfare of all their pupils. In defending the specific measures proposed above, we refer to the declarations made by UNESCO and the Council of Europe, as well as to EEC Directive 77/486/EEC, insofar as these documents enshrine the right to own language and culture.

We are not totally satisfied by this statement. Some of us felt that it should be prefaced by a statement of political intent, namely that our view of language rights was dependent on a social analysis, and an understanding of human rights which must include a free right of movement throughout the world without the constraint of immigrant controls. Others felt that we should include a demand for the language repertoires of the student population in educational institutions to be reflected proportionately by the language repertoires of the teaching staff. Both these views were defeated by the consensus. The proposers remained unconvinced that they might be wrong, and their views could not be incorporated into a successful synthesis. There are implications for all subjects in the secondary curriculum. Issues of language and learning are ubiquitous, to such an extent that all teachers need to ask what the ways are in which various languages and dialects enter into their subject content and teaching strategies.

Languages Seminar
September 1984

LANGUAGES - DISCUSSION

From the evidence of contributors to the Conference it would appear that, just as the situation with regard to languages and language loyalties in modern Europe is characterised by diversity and complexity, so the policies which have been adopted in the respective educational systems have varied greatly. In some countries the challenge of educating children who, by virtue of the cultural environment of their home, possess knowledge and skill in the use of languages other than the dominant national language or languages, has been met only by locally-based provision and short-term responses. Other countries have adopted more sophisticated programmes with respect to «home» languages and second language learning (1). The Swedish national syllabuses discussed by Hans HAMBER above are an example of this longer-term and more comprehensive policy orientation.

Responses to the EEC Directive on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers (2) appear to have, generally speaking, been very different from one country to another, varying according to whether a particular government has perceived the Directive in terms of the right to language maintenance of permanently settled groups or, alternatively, in terms of the right for «guest-workers» and their families to know a «home» language with respect to future return to «home countries». There are also some considerable divergences between curricular traditions, with differing approaches to aims, appropriate content and classroom practice. Teachers, and the institutions they operate within, are allowed markedly different levels of autonomy. For example, a comparison can be made between those countries where the languages curriculum is defined from the centre, as in Sweden, and those where some responsibility for policy is located at the regional, local or school level.

Languages in the intercultural curriculum

It seems reasonable to suggest that, despite these differences in approach, there is a growing recognition throughout Europe of the need to respond, within the curriculum, to the range of languages which are currently used in the daily lives of many school students, and a growing desire to find ways of supporting the development of home language in parallel with ensuring proficiency for all in the national language(s) of instruction.

This appears to be a feature of a wider change of perspective whereby earlier expectations, that those who had migrated to Europe would either become fully assimilated linguistically and culturally or return home, have been replaced, even in so-called «non-immigration countries», by recognition of de facto - if not de jure - permanent settlement of groups of people and their children who have now both a new way of life and an old, and who have, potentially, two (or more) languages at their command.

Teachers and policy makers will, of course, do well to heed Joshua Fishman's warning and «guard against sentimentalising bilingualism as much as against deprecating it» (3). People have the right to reject an old way of life and its language should they choose to do so if, say, they find them being used as a linguistic and cultural means of ghettoising them in society. However the evidence available to us suggests that speakers loyal to languages and dialects other than the dominant language are developing an increasingly insistent voice in most European countries and making demands to which those involved in making educational decisions must respond if they are to make appropriate provision. Only the speakers, readers and writers of the languages concerned themselves are in a position correctly to determine for what purposes and to what levels of competence they need and wish to become bilingual in a given community and society.

In 1982, we noted in a report for the EEC (4), that the education systems of France, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany were predicated on a strong belief in the efficacy of a monolingual approach to instruction and that this had the effect of seriously disadvantaging students whose first language was not French, English or German, respectively. Since then, there has been some public discussion of research evidence on the importance for students' cognitive development and general well-being of instruction in the «home» language, but little evidence of the substantial changes in policy direction which would place the kind of value on bilingualism that is already expressed within the Swedish curriculum or, for example, embodied in Canadian bilingual programmes.

The Manifesto on Language Rights proposes just such a shift in policy direction. It takes as its baseline that different languages, though linguistically equivalent as systems capable of expressing meaning, are far from equal in the status accorded them and their speakers in a given society. The consequence of this is that some languages, especially those perceived as the languages of «foreigners» or «immigrants», (even though they may have a few thousand years of literary culture behind them), do not on their own offer their speakers in European contexts more than an extremely narrow range of life chances. The dominant language, the language of the powerful, the national language, does.

It is worth noting the interdependence of two elements in the Manifesto. Students, it argues, need access to full competence in the dominant language in order to benefit fully from a national education system and become able to participate fully in society. They also need to be able to develop as bilinguals, confident in the use of their first languages and knowing that the society they live in values their talents and the cultures to which they have access and can give access to others. Much may perhaps ultimately

be achieved in this latter respect by the development of forms of bilingual education which, in some contexts, make use of other than the dominant language for general instructional purposes for all. Similarly it may make some difference for all students to see, for example, modern non-European languages included in the curriculum and taken as examination subjects.

On the other hand it is only realistic to add that the status of the languages and cultures of specific groups of people does not become higher unless changes in attitude are also brought about at all levels in society from the individual to central government and such changes in attitude are accompanied by changes in the material position of the people concerned, their rights under the law, and their access to positions of power in society.

«Home» and «community» languages

John BROADBENT and Hasmukh PATEL make a distinction between the vernacular languages of the home and those varieties of language which are used for interaction within, and sometimes beyond, culturally distinct communities. This draws attention both to the difficulties which beset those formulating educational policy in responding to the sheer numbers of languages spoken in the home and the changes which are taking place in the languages themselves and the functions they serve (5). In a report on the secondary curriculum produced for the Inner London Education Authority the situation is described as follows:

> «if these pupils all spoke the same mother tongue, support would no doubt be easier to supply but a recent census discovered that 147 languages are spoken in London schools, in some cases by large numbers, in others by a scatter of sometimes isolated pupils. The languages represented most frequently in schools at present are Bengali, Turkish, Gujerati, Spanish, Greek, Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese, Italian, Arabic, French and Portuguese. Some pupils are fully bilingual; some pupils have an insecure command of English, while a few speak none at all; some have a fluent command of their mother tongue with well developed literacy skills; but others maybe doubly illiterate and speak a dialect of their language frowned upon by educated speakers of the standard form (6).»

Thus, in terms of practice, decisions have to be made as to which languages can be included in the modern languages curriculum as «community languages»; who should decide on the variety to be chosen; what support in terms of materials and bilingual teachers can be given to the maintenance of first languages within the curriculum; and what support by

way of liaison and funding can be offered to «mother tongue» classes already provided in the community. The specific nature of these choices vary according to national or local context but certain features may be common. Practice will, hopefully, be shaped increasingly in response to the wishes of the various communities and based on the assumption that, far from being a disadvantage to the student, the full literate development of the first language is vitally important as a route to conceptual development and subject learning.

Second language learning

The tasks for those involved in making second language learning effective and achieved to the highest levels possible are informed by most of the issues discussed above. Across Europe a variety of systems have been employed, many of which have had the effect of separating out the second language learner into classes, schools or centres which made special provision for second language learners (7). One of the results of this has been to separate these students from the mainstream curriculum and from dominant language speaking students for much, or even all, of their school time with deleterious effects with respect to their life chances.

A paper by Christel KOTTMAN-MENTZ which pressures on space have not allowed us to include in the present collection (8) describes in considerable detail the way in which knowledge of different levels of Turkish as a first language should be taken into account in the teaching of German as a second language. The Turkish students' existing linguistic knowledge is used contrastively to help them in the acquisition of the German needed for social and academic success; the process being seen as a political strategy enabling school students to exercise control over their own learning. The kind of linguistic expertise involved is usually available only through specialist language teachers and the practical problem which such teachers are now seeking to resolve is how their knowledge can be put to use in other contexts than the separate second language class or centre. Two strands of the organisational and ideological changes which may be required are outlined below in the papers of Josie LEVINE and Inge HOFFMAN-OKKES which focus respectively on the potential role of the specialist language teacher in the mainstream classroom and the responsibilities of secondary subject teachers to second language learners. We would also in this context refer the reader back to the section of HAMBER's paper concerning «study guidance» which places on all teachers responsibility for students' linguistic development and proposes that students can be helped by «home» language teachers to understand new concepts in their subject learning simultaneously in their home language and in Swedish, thus acquiring knowledge which goes beyond the subject texts into intercultural understanding.

CONCLUSION

Although the languages curriculum established in Sweden appears to be comprehensive by comparison with provision in other countries we are not sure that we would wish to see such curricula simply replicated in different contexts without the wishes of the various communities being given full weight. Indeed the process of formulating such a curriculum statement may be as important as the final product.

There is some evidence in a paper given at the Conference by Amadeu BATEL, a speaker of Portuguese living in Sweden, that even a seemingly ideal policy may not, from the point of view of those whose interests the policy is designed to serve, achieve its best intentions in the context of specific municipalities. Lastly, a policy for the curriculum in this area has expensive implications and we would not wish to give any support to a belief that by writing a curriculum statement the aims would be achieved without major funding for teacher training and the provision of resources.

It is at the institutional level that practice has to be developed and so we are particularly encouraged by the questioning which is taking place there concerning the best ways of teaching second languages and the responsibilities of subject teachers across the curriculum, and also by the efforts being made at school level to find effective ways of enabling students to become fully bilingual. Policy working upwards as well as downwards would seem necessary if an intercultural approach to language is to be achieved.

REFERENCES

(1) «Home» language and «home» country are terms currently in use in certain national contexts. These terms create conceptual confusions. Many of the people who use the languages referred to will consider their «home» to be the country in which they were born rather than that of their parents' or grandparents' origin. For similar reasons the terms immigrant and foreigner are often inappropriately used.

One outcome of the Second International Conference on Intercultural Curriculum was a decision to study further the problems surrounding the terms «home language» and «community language» in the European context.

(2) Commission for the European Communities (1977) Directive 77/486/EEC on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers. EEC, Brussels.

(3) FISHMAN, J A (1964) «The status and prospects of bilingualism in the United States», in Bilingualism and the bilingual child - a symposium.

(4) GUNDARA, J, JONES C and KIMBERLEY K (1982) The Marginalisation and Pauperisation of the Second Generation of Migrants in France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Great Britain relating to the education of the children of migrants. EEC, Brussels.

(5) A preliminary report of research into language change in the Serbo-Croat used in the context of the Yugoslavian community in Sweden was presented to the Second International Conference on Intercultural Curriculum by Miodrag STANKOWSKI. Initial work suggests that dramatic reductive changes are taking place in a range of structures and vocabulary being called into use - particularly with respect to verbs. For further information see papers by DAHLSTRAND, I, DUROVIC, L, FRIBERG, A C, STANKOWSKI, M, and TOMASEVIC, M in Slavica Lundensia 9, Lund.

(6) ILEA (1984) Improving Secondary Schools. Report of the Committee on the Curriculum and Organisation of Secondary Schools, ILEA, London. P 45.

(7) See GUNDARA, Jones and Kimberley (1982) above.

(8) KOTTMAN MENTZ, C, «Saziye learns German and Turkish», in ESSINGER H and UCAR A (Eds) Erziehung in der multikulturellen Gesellschaft - Versuche und Modelle zu einer Theorie und Praxis. Interkulturelle Erziehung; D -7066 Baltmannsweiller 2 (Educational Publisher, Schneider).

LITERATURE - PAPERS

Karin DAHL's paper takes as its baseline the aim of promoting human rights, tolerance and democratic partnership arguing that literature provides a mirror in which you may learn things about yourself and offers you knowledge, insight, and a sense of history together with new perspectives which may help you shape the future. She sees literature as a way of understanding others' interpretations of reality, giving access to knowledge of material and social conditions very different from one's own. Similarly she sees the study of literature as being a particularly appropriate medium through which students can explore relationships, make connections, and come to their own evaluations of issues and problems.

However, in proposing a broader choice of texts and approaches to counter existing prejudice and racism and to develop the kind of values which will lead students to oppose oppression when they encounter it, she maintains an emphasis on the pleasure - experiences of beauty, humour and excitement - which literature offers.

Lakshmi HOLMSTROM shares the conviction that neither disturbing nor political themes should be avoided but warns against underestimating the extreme sensitivity needed by the teacher both in dealing with differences between cultures and in tackling racism. From the viewpoint of an Indian teaching in an English school, the intake of which is made up almost entirely of white working class children, she criticises the sentimental, colonialist view of South Asian literature which predominates in some traditionally used texts and the ethnocentric, imperialist thinking which defines their use. Like DAHL, she sees considerable value in students understanding through literature the metaphors which inform a culture and gaining some understanding of its world view through the ability of literature to locate the universal in the concrete and particular.

> «Reading an Indian novel by an Indian author is rather like a visit to that country; not as a tourist but as a participant.»

LIFE AND LITERATURE

Karin DAHL

This paper describes some traits in the current thinking about literature in education in Sweden. The description is intended to function as a starting point for discussions about the role of literature in intercultural education in Europe. The paper first gives an example of how literature is taught in the primary school. Then it discusses trends in society that have a great impact on both grown ups and young people and what conclusions we might draw for the work with literature. The main part of the paper deals with the question of how the teaching of literature should be structured in order to promote humanistic and democratic values in the school and help the students to handle their lives.

Stories in the primary school

«Everyday I tell a story to the children: a fairy tale, a folk tale, a myth or some other story. During the three terms that I have taught in this class I have - among other things - told the children Nordic and Greek myths and stories from the old Testament», says a teacher in a city in the middle of Sweden. The children work intensively with stories: talk about them, retell them in writing, draw pictures etc. When there was a heavy storm last autumn, she continues, I told a very old story from Vietnam about the fight between the Spirit of the Mountain and the Spirit of the Sea. It describes how the Vietnamese farmers have fought for centuries against the sea and threatening floods. The old story shaped some of the children's thinking after looking at dramatic pictures on the TV screen. I think they also learnt something about Vietnam which they could grasp as it was connected with their own experiences and interests.

When the children learn to read and write they also meet highly literate stories as those by Singer and Buber. They are full of meaning and give the children much to think and dream of.

Recently some boys were fighting some Turkish boys in the neighbourhood. It stirred up the minds of the children and we talked a good deal about it. I told them a Turkish story, and I think that their empathy and our talks invited them to think of Turkey and Turkish grown ups and children in the neighbourhood in a new way.»

The children in this infant class get a large store of stories from different historical periods and different countries as as common core of knowledge. The stories give them much to reflect on and at the same time stimulate the children's fantasy and desire to discover and understand the world they live in.»

(From FastPalme in Dahl, Svar på tal om svenskundervisningen och skolans kulturpolitiska uppgifter SÖ 1982).

Literature was in this infant class used in a context that was meaningful to the children. And the meaningful context is an important criterion of a good use of literature in all education.

Dominant trends in society

The development of high technology and the explosion of mass media information are rapidly changing our society. Many experience feelings of alienation and isolation. They do not recognise their own experiences in the pictures of society that are given them by authorities, organisations, institutions and mass media using an abstract official language where they are reduced to consumers and production factors. Many remain spectators of changes that they should have opportunities to influence.

Popular music, TV, video, radio and newspapers - children and young people consume information and entertainment in a rapid flow of loud messages that are more or less forced upon them. In many cases the mass media offer a contact with far off places and historical scenes that the school can not possibly equal. But when the flow of information expands there is a lack of attention.

The media have to compete for onlookers, listeners, readers and the messages become simplified and polarised. And as the mass media world has developed a global character, their messages tend to become superficial and full of clichés to suit large public audiences.

The technical development does not seem to be able to erase differences in status and power between social classes or groups. To the contrary new class barriers might be built up between those who possess expert knowledge and those who do not.

Society has become more heterogenous as far as culture is concerned. The immigration of people belonging to different ethnic groups has certainly broadened our views on ways of living but you can also notice many examples of prejudices and racism in everyday life. Many minority groups have few opportunities to speak for themselves through mass media that reach the majority. Youth cultures - often dominated by US trends - split generations and young people into different groups.

There is a growing anxiety about how to share existing world resources between rich and poor countries.

There are groups of poor readers among both young students still at school and adults. Some immigrants are illiterate when they come to this country, and also among Swedish born adults illiterate persons are found.

Conclusions for the education

Children and young people get more and more fragmentary pictures of the world, pictures that are full of contradictory and vague or hidden value judgements. And, as they by their mass media habits are brought up to become great consumers of information and entertainment, they have little time to judge, to pick and choose, to try to find their way to sound knowledge and carefully thought out opinions, thoughts and feelings.

Therefore the school must not compete with the information channels of the mass media and allow the students consumer roles at school. The school must challenge the students to investigate how matters are related, to penetrate important issues to the bottom, to discern value judgements and to choose standpoints.

It is a question of hard work to be able to see and understand relations between:

- their own experiences and circumstances in the society;
- life in their home district, in the country and in the world,
- the present time, history and the future.

A person's language is closely bound up with his personality and living situation. If this connection is broken, both linguistic and personal development will be stunted. One of the important goals is therefore to strengthen the pupils' self-confidence so that they will not be afraid to express themselves and stand up for their opinions. Work should therefore emanate from the language and experience already possessed by the pupils.

One of the main tasks of schools is to arouse respect for truth and justice, for the dignity of man, for the inviolability of human life and, accordingly, for the integrity of the individual. Among other things, this means that schools must make pupils realise that nobody must be subjected to oppression and that no person with problems and difficulties

must be left to his or her fate. Everybody is duty bound to try to alleviate the pain, suffering and degradation of others. Schools develop such values as are capable of sustaining and strengthening the democratic principles of tolerance, partnership and equal rights.

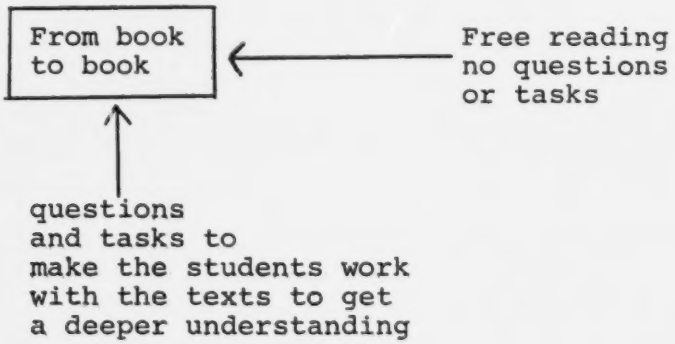
These tasks of the school should influence the instruction of literature.

In literature the pupils must be able to meet reality as experienced and interpreted by other people. They must acquire an insight into material and social conditions at different times and in different parts of the world. Encounters with people in literature must give them pleasurable experiences of beauty, humour and excitement, but must also enable them to view themselves in relation to their own living situation and that of other people.

Literature across the curriculum

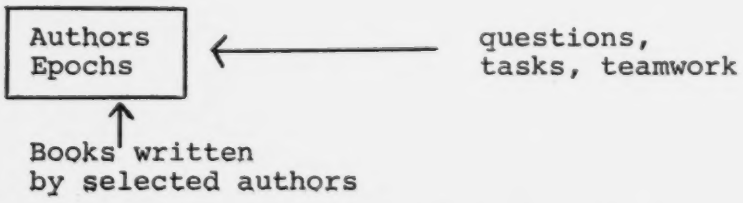
Let us first look at three models; three different ways of organising the study of literature.

1.


From book to book
Free reading no questions or tasks
questions and tasks to make the students work with the texts to get a deeper understanding

The message: Read more books. The purpose of the instruction is to develop good reading habits. The model is well known and it is commonly used in schools or classes where you do not expect the students to be interested in reading (in vocational education for instance).

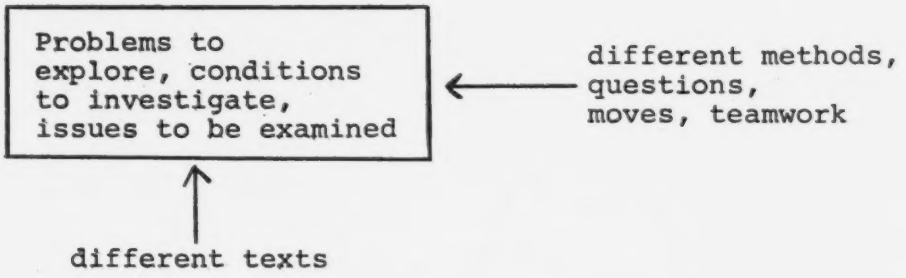
2.



The message: Study the history of literature as part of a good all round education. The emphasis may be put on the textbook or on the literary masterpieces that illustrate the development of literature. This model is commonly used

in classes or schools where the students study theoretical subjects. More and more, though, the emphasis has moved from the history of literature to the literature itself.

3.


Problems to explore, conditions to investigate, issues to be examined
different methods, questions, moves, teamwork
different texts

The message: Literature is a source of knowledge. It can give you insights into other persons' lives, into social conditions today and long ago, into human character and working life. By studying literature the students get new and unexpected perspectives on their own experiences and opinions. The purpose of the instruction is to help the students to use the texts in their studies of issues and problems that they are eager to investigate. The value of the books is related to the context of study. The study of the authors and the history of literature is motivated when it puts a light on the field of study they are engaged in.

This model is used by teachers trying to find new ways of making education valuable and meaningful to the heterogeneous groups of students in our school. The purpose is that the students should be able to understand and improve the conditions of their lives and society.

The study of literature according to model 1 or model 2 may well be organised in one subject. It may also be organised as a literary based language course or subject. This is the case in Sweden. In both model 1 and model 2, the main aims of the studies are the knowledge of books and authors in a historical perspective and the development of language.

The ability to discern and appreciate aesthetic and moral values is also meant to be developed. When the instruction follows the models 1 or 2 the differences between classical or good books and popular books are often discussed. The students are educated to take an interest in the good books and abandon the popular ones - that is the development of a literary taste is an important goal.

«Literature across the curriculum» - that is more or less the motto of teachers whose instruction follows model 3. In this approach a literature based language course is the core of the curriculum. Together with the social studies it gives the students a broad frame of work. Novels,

short stories, poems etc are studied as sources of human knowledge. The students are challenged to use their own experiences as a starting point for studies. Their curiosity, their interests and their need for learning will decide which specific issues within a thematic work they will concentrate on. The sharing of experiences and thoughts is an important part of the common building up of knowledge, the common dealing with problems etc.

When the students begin to work in this way they are often shy of each other and the differences between them cause great problems. But, when they gradually learn to work together, many will discover that the differences might become a resource. Their different views, habits and ways of life, when shared in discussions or met in confrontations on special issues, will in the long run become valuable to their studies and their lives.

Talking, writing, drama and the other creative arts are necessary means of an education that might really be defined as intercultural. The students get opportunities to strengthen their own identities and understand the background of others.

It is a common experience by teachers that a literary course isolated from other work at school seldom is a success for more than a fairly small group of students. On the other hand many teachers claim that literature is the most rewarding form of a student's encounter with language and that creative writing should be an integrated part of all serious literary studies. In social sciences and science you often deal with difficult issues that you may understand more fully if you study them in the perspectives of a novel, a short story or a poem.

This raises the following questions for discussion:

- Should literature and language (the teaching of the mother tongue) form one subject?

- Should literature and language be organised as project-oriented studies closely connected with social studies or history?

- What emphasis should be put on the history of literature?

The Cultural heritage

It does not seem useful today to present the students with a canon of masterpieces to read irrespective of their own cultural backgrounds, problems or need for knowledge. In the building up of courses, we cannot restrict the lists of books to the masterpieces of the country or the western civilisation. We live in a global world and the sagas, songs

and stories of the great civilisations all over the world should be within reach for the students. We must broaden our literary heritage to build up understanding and counteract prejudices and racism. It is especially important that literature of the minority groups is studied at school in connection with studies in social sciences, history etc.

Issues which need consideration include:

- Translation of books of the minorities for use in schools;
- Easy readers;
- Possibilities for immigrant writers to publish books;
- Factual books about the home countries of the immigrants;
- Workshops for the production of immigrant literature;
- The narrative art of immigrants without a written language;
- Literature on tapes for illiterates;
- The supply of books in the home languages in community and county libraries.

SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURE IN BRITISH SCHOOLS

Lakshmi HOLMSTRÖM

It was my first practice, some fourteen years ago at a grammar school in Norwich which has subsequently turned comprehensive. The head of the English Department, whose second year form I was to take for the following weeks, put into my hands a book I had not known before, «Old Mali and the Boy» (D R SHERMAN) (1).

He wanted me to read this book with this form. He assured me that since it was set in India, I as an Indian would particularly enjoy working with it. He was genuinely surprised therefore when I returned the next day and told him that I found the book offensive; that it gave a sentimentalised and false colonial picture of an idealised Indian servant and a young English master; that I could not use it. I do not think I convinced this gentleman, who concluded that I was being touchy, but nevertheless withdrew the book for the time being and, entirely unconscious of irony, offered me «King Solomon's Mines» (Rider HAGGARD) (2) instead.

I give this incident as an example because it continues to be typical of the present situation in Norfolk schools at least, as to the use of books about South Asia - leave alone books from South Asia - in reading schemes and syllabuses. Very few of the sets of «reading books» in our stock cupboards deal with cultures other than Christian Europe. And in my experience, those that are set in the Indian subcontinent tend only to have walk-on parts for Indians, for example the cringing servants who put in a brief appearance at the beginning of «The Secret Garden» (Frances Hodgson BURNETT) (3). CSE booklists usually do not include books from or about South Asia, and «O» level syllabuses seldom. The honourable exception must be the Cambridge «A» level syllabus which includes some very interesting and good examples of Commonwealth literature and literature from the Third World, particularly for their paper «English literature since 1900» (4).

Next, the availability of such books for general reading. Miss Sylvia STEVENS of Norfolk County Libraries checked for me what was available in the Norwich Central Library, the Norfolk County Library Service and in three secondary schools in Norwich, using a checklist, YLG pamphlet 22, «Multiracial books for the classroom» (Judith ELKIN, 1980) (5). Concentrating on legends, folk tales and fiction, we found that the largest collection of books about South Asia were folk tales and legends at junior and lower secondary level. A number of these are reserved through the schools lending service and therefore are not listed on the public catalogue. The children's library contains few works of fiction which are written by Indians or others about modern India.

(Almost the only two are Anita DESAI's «The Peacock Garden» and The Village by the Sea».) If teachers or children wish to find novels about modern India they must look in the adult fiction shelves, and either in the central library or elsewhere in Norfolk they will able to track down books by Mulk Raj ANAND, Anita DESAI, Ruth JHABVALA, R K NARAYAN, Raja RAO, Salman RUSHDIE, etc. The problem is of course that they have to know which authors to look for in the first place (6).

To sum up the situation: in the first place, the books in actual use in schools, in so far as they are about South Asia or set in South Asia, are still largely colonial. It needs stressing that preoccupation with, nostalgia for, or even guilt about the Raj tells a truth only about the British political consciousness - this may indeed still need examining - but it is not a truth about modern India. In the second place the stories are told from the outside rather than from the inside - that is, by the observer (however sympathetic) rather than by the participant (however critical). Thirdly, where books from the sub-continent are used, they are chosen for and tend generally to be used in an illustrative fashion: that is, pressed for their «message», or as part of a general project rather than for a serious exploration of their literary worth, the aesthetic pleasure of a well-told story for its own sake. My argument is for the use in British schools of South Asian literature which is in the first place interesting and valuable in its own right. But I am also arguing for the value of this literature in a genuinely anthropological sense - that is, for the real insight it affords into different cultural assumptions. Hence, I am mainly interested in books written by Indians.

The literature I have in mind and which could be used in British schools are the following:

1. Retellings of the two major epics, «Ramayana» and «Mahabharata»; also of folktales and animal fables, for example from the «Panchatantra»; stories of the gods and demons from the «Puranas» (loosely linked cycles of stories about particular gods); minor epics like «Silappadikaram» from South India. (See Appendix 1).

2. Modern literature which has been translated into English from the regional Indian languages. TAGORE's short stories, for example, are almost better known in English than in Bengali. One of the most beautiful novels of modern India is Bhibhutibhusan BANERJI's «Pather Panchali» which is perhaps only known outside the subcontinent because of Satyajit RAY's famous film. It is excellently translated by T W CLARK and Tarapada MUKHERJI. (See Appendix 2).

3. Modern novels and short stories written in English by authors who are by now well established throughout the English speaking world, for example, Mulk Raj ANAND, R K NARAYAN and Anita DESAI. Anita DESAI has two novels, «The Peacock Garden» and «The Village by the Sea» which were written specifically for children. R K NARAYAN's «Swami and Friends» and BANERJI's «Pather Panchali» are written largely from the point of view of their protagonists who happen to be children, but cannot be described as children's books only. Then there are a few highly inventive experimental novels such as G V DESANI's «All about H HATTER» and Salman RUSHDIE's «Midnight Children» and «Shame». (See Appendix 2).

4. Finally there are autobiographies and examples of historical writing which have become classics of their kind, for example, GANDHI's «My experiments with truth» and NEHRU's «Discovery of India». (See Appendix 2).

The relevance (in different ways) of this literature to the «multicultural» situation in modern England needs to be underlined. There are in the first place, those children who are still experiencing difficulties in learning English. The place of mother tongue teaching is a separate issue, an option which may be necessary; nevertheless these children need to learn English, to become part of the host society, and of course to contribute positively to it. Their reading of this kind of literature may help towards this. Then there are British born children of Asian origin, who are almost entirely English speaking, who were born into and grew up in this society, and for whom this literature may be a means of discovering and critically evaluating their own cultural mainstream. But equally, English children growing up in a «multicultural» society should have access to the other cultures and literatures next to them; to become genuinely aware of other art forms and to learn to live in the modern world with mutual respect.

Above all, we who are teachers of English ought to be much more aware of English as a world language and that it is used not only politically but <u>creatively</u> in many parts of the world; used moreover in new and exciting ways.

My idea therefore in offering this material for use in schools is not by way of advocating separatism, nor do I wish to provide for closed groups that exist side by side; rather, I should like to see more options available for all children within the normal school curriculum. My own teaching experience has been in a comprehensive school in Norwich whose intake is made up almost entirely of white working class children; their response to Indian literature when I have used it has been gratifying. Clearly, the books

I have mentioned could be used in many contexts: in the teaching for example, of religious education, history, liberal studies and English. My interest is in the teaching of English, and the possible ways in which it can be extended and enriched. It is in this context mainly that I will be examining some of the material, in the rest of this paper.

First I want to examine the epic and puranic stories in English versions and suggest some ways in which they could be used in actual classroom practice. I have suggested a number of good retellings at the end of this paper, among them those published in India and well known to Indian children, but I shall be referring in particular to R K NARAYAN's «Gods, Demons and Others», a collection of fifteen stories both epic and puranic, with an excellent introduction about the traditional story teller and his world. He also includes an extremely useful description of the time scheme of the gods and a note on the cosmogony on which the myths are based.

The epics and the puranas, it cannot be too much stressed, provide the basic story material for most of the literatures of India and South Asia, both classical and modern. And they are valuable in the first place as great and marvellous stories. It is because of this that they are immediately accessible. I have told the story of the churning of the milk ocean (from «Indian Tales» by Romila THAPAR) with great success to junior and lower secondary school children. At the same time the myths are distances because they so clearly belong to the story world. Thus cultural differences do not intervene between the reader and the story in the same way or to the same extent as they do with modern material where a reader may have to cope with, for example, caste, ritual pollution, presentation of poverty, etc. Also the myths have always existed in many versions: there are many variations to the ending of the Ramayana, for example. Individual interpretations and interpolations are within this tradition of story telling. It is because of this aspect that almost all art forms of South Asia have drawn their inspiration from the puranas, and epics: classical and folk theatre, dance, painting, shadow puppets, masks. In this way there are endless possibilities for the imaginative and creative rendering of the gods and demons.

While these two elements - the fabulous and the fantastic - make these stories particularly accessible to younger readers, they are of course important critical notions which could be drawn out and discussed when necessary with older readers.

At the other pole, the epics in particular, are full of human and universal episodes too: eg Draupadi's disgrace in front of the Kaurava brothers when the Pandavas lose their dice-game; Karna rejecting his mother's plea because she reveals herself too late; Arjuna's anguish on the eve of the battle of Kurukshetra. Such episodes make it possible to dwell on the realistic aspect of the these stories and to use them for discussion, comparison, enactment, etc.

Interested teachers should look at Irawati KARVE's splendid book «Yuganta», a series of essays on the characters of the Mahabharata - Draupadi, Kunti, Krishna, etc - where she explores each as a complex human figure in the first place.

So much for the story itself. Next I want to draw attention to the importance of modes of storytelling. R K NARAYAN's introduction to his «Gods, Demons and Others» is entitled «The World of the Storyteller» and is fascinating in its description of the oral tradition of storytelling - a convention that Narayan preserves throughout his collection - eg at the beginning of the story of Lavana: «The Pandit this afternoon was reading a newspaper instead of a palm leaf. The afternoon was still, blue and bright, and his favourite calf, tethered to a post within his view, had eaten from a small bundle of dry grass he had placed for it in a trough. He put away the newspaper, took off the glasses on his nose, and said ...» (p 15). Here, it seems to me, are possibilities for two different kinds of discussion:

i. To do with the storyteller and his relationship with his audience;

ii. Effectiveness of the storytelling - which may lead to experimentation with and discussion of oral storytelling with use of tapes etc.

Finally, the myths lead directly to an understanding of certain assumptions in modern Indian life and writing. First of all, certain imaginative ideas, not always literally believed in, but used almost as metaphors which have become commonplace - for example, the notion of cyclical time, the four epochs of time which the universe repeatedly passes through, ending with Kali YUGA, age of darkness. (Most modern writers seem to glance at this notion at least in passing, including Salman RUSHDIE, in «Midnight's Children».) More importantly perhaps the myths lead to an understanding of a world view - again not always literally believed in, but alluded to as a framework of ideas: that man finding himself in the world has already created his fate; that it is of his own making, depending on his actions in his former existence; that therefore it can, in principle, be transcended by effects inspired by his own free will.

«Over an enormous expanse of time and space, events fall into proper perspective. There is suffering because of the need to work off certain consequences arising from one's actions, in a series of births determined by the law of Karma ...» «Gods, Demons and Others» p 5.

«You know that the lives of gods may be incarnated in men, just as the souls which once inhabited the bodies of men may return again to this earth, housed in the outward form of animals. Our life is like a brief role which an actor assumes for the stage; yet the sages tell us that it is our present action alone which will decide in which direction our souls will go next». KANNAGI, p 94.

I now come to my own specialist interest, modern Indian writing in English. It is surprising that it is not generally known or accepted that there is a thriving literature in English from the Indian subcontinent. Some British universities now offer as part of their degree course in English an option of Commonwealth/African/Carribean literatures; some university libraries contain reasonable collections of books from these countries and there are works which give a good, clear critical survey of the material (for example, Meenakshi MUKHERJEE's «The Twice-born Fiction») (7). The message somehow has not yet filtered through to schools.

I give at the end of this paper a list of novels and short stories which I hope will be useful and appropriate for secondary schools. Here I want to concentrate on some suggestions for actual classroom practice.

First of all though, there are some problems which must be considered. Of course a teacher wishing to read an Indian novel with a class must do her/his homework. Sometimes it will be necessary to know the historical background and setting, particularly the Independence Movement, the circumstances of Independence and partition, and more recent history. Cultural assumptions will sometimes need intelligent and sympathetic comment: caste; ritual pollution; arranged marriages; rites and ceremonies. This however, is part of the preparation and background reading which most of us do for any text we take seriously. A more difficult problem is having to handle disturbing themes - extreme poverty, for instance, or the constant nearness of death. To some extent these themes are inescapable. In his introduction to «New Writing in India» Adil JUSSAWALLA quotes the Hindi novelist Krishna BALDEV VAID who listed the main preoccupations of contemporary Indian novelists thus: «portrayal of poverty, hunger and disease; portrayal of widespread social evils and tension; examinations of the survival of the past; exploration of

the hybrid culture of the educated middle class; etc.» Certainly one must not minimise the centrality of these themes. Yet much depends on the sensitivity of the teacher and her knowledge of the class. In selecting texts I would want to avoid stereotyping; and I would also look for balance or subtlety of presentation. Writers like R K NARAYAN are important precisely because they convey both the pain and the joy of life in India with remarkable subtlety. Finally there are sometimes the difficulties of form. It must be remembered that modern Indian novels belong both to a Western and international genre and also to traditionally Indian and sometimes local mode of storytelling. Thus a reader has to be sensitive to the techniques used and this includes images, symbols and social and literary techniques.

Now as to actual use and some suggestions for starting points. One possible way of using this material is through the thematic approach, that is, using extracts. I have two suggestions to make here. The first is to begin with what is of universal interest: for example, within the theme of childhood and growing up to focus on such things as fears, discovery, threat of being bullied etc. There is plenty of material which would fit in admirably in this context - for example from «Swami and Friends» (R K NARAYAN); «Pather Panchali» (Bhibhuri Bhushan BANERJI) and «Games at Twilight», «Fire on the Mountain» and «The Village by the Sea» (all by Anita DESAI who is particularly good on portrayals of children).

There is a passage from «Swami and Friends» which I like using because it so clearly illustrates how in NARAYAN's work what is universally felt is wedded to the concrete and particular; the passage captures what it is like to feel as a child, but also what it is to feel as an Indian child.

(Swami has just been taunted by his «set» for his obvious admiration of Rajam, a newcomer to Majgudi and as yet an outsider. Swami comes home to sit in front of the gutter flowing past Vinayaka Mudali Street.)

«A dark volume of water was rushing along. Odd pieces of paper, leaves and sticks floated by. A small piece of tin was gently skimming along. Swami had an impulse to plunge his hand in and pick it up. But he let it go. His mind was inert. He watched the shining bit float away. It was now at the end of the compound wall; now it had passed under the tree ... Swaminathan ran in, got a sheet of paper and made a boat. He saw a small ant moving about aimlessly. He carefully caught it, placed it in the boat and lowered the boat in the stream. He watched in rapture its quick motion. He held his breath when the boat with its cargo neared a danger zone formed by stuck-up bits of straw and odds and ends. The boat made a beautiful swerve to the

right and avoided destruction. It went on and on. It neared a fatal spot where the water was swirling round it in eddies ... The boat and its cargo were wrecked beyond recovery. He took a pinch of earth, uttered a prayer for the soul of the ant and dropped it into the gutter», pp 31-2.

One notices the sharpness of detail; the subtlety with which external actions minutely reflect the boy's changing states of mind; above all, the way an individual character emerges - Swami's vividness of imagination which borders on the superstitious, and his vulnerability because of that.

Still using the thematic approach, my second suggestion is to begin from the opposite direction - that is, to focus on what is different, the «feel» of a specifically Indian experience. One might begin for example, with a set description of a festival. There are very beautifully observed and accessible descriptions of the doll's festival in «The Dark Room» (R K NARAYAN) and of Coconut Day and Diwali in «The Village by the Sea» (Anita DESAI). Similarly, it is possible to begin with a description of the seasons, using for example, the chapter on the whirlwind from «Fire on the Mountain», or passages describing the monsoon from «Pather Panchali» or «Kanthapura». For example:

«The darkness grows thick as sugar in a cauldron, while the bamboos creak and sway and whine, and the crows begin to wheel round and flutter, and everywhere dogs bark and calves moo, and then the wind comes so swift and dashing that it takes the autumn leaves with it, and they rise into the juggling air, while the trees bleat and blubber. Then drops fall, big as the thumb, and as the thunder goes clashing like a temple cymbal through the heavens, the earth itself seems to heave up and cheep in the monsoon rains ...» «Kanthapura», p 70.

The moment just before the rains is very exactly captured in a series of pictures of sound and movement.

But these extracts, though valuable as examples, could also be used as starting points to full length readings of the novels. Reading an Indian novel by an Indian author, I have suggested, is rather like a visit to that country; not as a tourist, however, but as a participant. One has to start by accepting - even taking for granted - the social conventions, the standard of living, a certain style of life. Having done this one can look to the pleasure of the story and the means of storytelling and so to evaluate the work for its literary worth rather than just as a social document.

Finally, some recommendations. First, there is a great deal that can be done by way of editing and putting together of material. A good collection of modern short stories would be useful; also anthologies of excerpts from modern novels with possible illustration and just sufficient footnotes or commentary where necessary. Then, I would like to see a good bibliography suitable for school use that collates both what is published in this country and what is published in the Indian subcontinent and could be made available for those who are interested. Both commercial publishers such as Orient Longman (Delhi, Bombay and Madras) and specialist publishers such as the Writers Workshop, Calcutta, are publishing new novels and translations all the time, but very often in limited numbers, so such a bibliography would need to be checked and kept up to date. It would also include brief commentary and suggestions for age groups, etc. If the use of South Asian literature in British schools is to be any more than simply a pious hope, then teachers and school librarians need to know where to go for this kind of material and how to use it.

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(4) The syllabus referred to here is the Advanced Level in English offered by the University of Cambridge local examination syndicate. Candidates must choose three out of nine papers, one of which could be the paper I have mentioned: Paper 9000/6, English Literature since 1900.

(5) ELKIN, J (1980) «Multiracial Books for the Classroom». Youth Libraries Group, Library Association, Pamphlet 22.

(6) Details of texts referred to can be found in Appendix 1 and 2.

(7) MULKERJEE, M (1971) «The Twice-Born Fiction», London Heinemann.

A P P E N D I X 1

Retelling of Myths and Legends

HOLMSTRÖM, Lakshmi (1980)	«Kannagi», Orient Longman, Sangam Series
KARVE, Iravati (1974)	«Yuganta», Orient Longman, Sangam Series
NARAYAN, R K (1965)	«Gods, Demons and Others», Neineman
RAMESLWARA RAO, Shanta (1968)	«The Children's Mahabharata», Orient Longman
	«Legend of Manasa and other Stories» Orient Longman, Sangam Series
SEEGER, Elizabeth (1970)	«The Five Sons of Pandu», Dent
(1975)	«The Ramayana», Dent
THAPAR, Romila (1961)	«Indian Tales», G Bell and Sons

A P P E N D I X 2

Novels and Short Stories

ANAND, Mulk Raj,	(1936)	«Coolie», Bodley Head
	(1944)	«The Barber's Trade Union and Other Stories», Johnathan Cape
BANERJI, Bhibhutibhusan	(1966)	«Pather Panchali», Allen and Unwin
DESAI, Anita	(1979)	«The Peacock Garden», Heineman, Long Ago Children's Books
	(1982)	«The Village by the Sea», Neineman
	(1981)	«Fire on the Mountain» Penguin
	(1978)	«Games at Twilight» (short stories), Penguin
DESANI, G V	(1970)	«All about H Hatterr», Bodley Head
GANDHI, M	(1927)	«The story of my experiments with truth», Ahmedabad
JUSSAWALLA, Adil (ed)	(1974)	«New Writing in India», Penguin
NARAYAN, R K	(1963)	«The Guide», Indian Thought Publications, Mysore
	(1980)	«Swami and Friends», University of Chicago Press
	(1949)	«Mr Sampath», Eyre and Spottis-woode
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	(1947)	«An Astrologer's Day and Other Stories» Eyre and Spottiswoode
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NEHRU, P	(1946)	«The Discovery of India», London Meridian Books
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RUSHDIE, Salman	(1981)	«Midnight's Children», Jonathan Cape
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LITERATURE - DISCUSSION

Teachers of literature are to a large extent predisposed to take on an intercultural perspective in their literature curriculum. It is difficult for avid readers to keep an interest in literature within national boundaries. Readers who range widely, even within a single language, cannot but become aware of the diverse nature of their own society and the cultural variety which is the product of its own history and contacts within others. Neither can they avoid contact with the rich diversity of other cultures and develop some, however limited, world perspectives. Moreover they can go further since the literature of non-European countries is accessible through translations and some of the literature of these cultures is, in any case, written in European languages which have been appropriated and refined for different national needs. The satisfactions that readers get from living with the world created in a text tend to lead them towards other literatures than their own and incline them towards learning about other cultures and experiences. Such reading is reciprocal in its effects providing also for the reader learning about his or her own culture.

Written texts, like their visual counterparts on film and television, often have as their content the examination of the relationships between cultures and are continually remaking «maps of the world». It is this awareness of creativity in the continual, dynamic re-shaping of cultures and the making and re-making of forms of expression which opens up the potential richness of the intercultural literature curriculum.

It is important to add that there is also a moral and political strand which shapes the attitudes of literature teachers and asserts that, in an age of fragmentary and contradictory views imposed by the mass media, students need the means to understand not only other peoples' interpretations of reality but also their own material conditions. Thus literature was proposed at the Conference as a key means for arousing respect for truth and justice on the grounds that it is essentially concerned with what makes us human. In this view it is the task of the teacher to promote humanistic and democratic values through the study of literature and to put human rights at the centre of the curriculum.

An outcome of this preoccupation is an awareness of the rights of those students who by virtue of their cultural background are oppressed by a dominant culture and find little or no expression of the culture and history of their family background in the school curriculum and the media. Two parallel proposals appear to have gained some acceptance. The first concerns the rights of those whose origins are not European and proposes that the discovery and critical evaluation of one's own literature and culture can be the means of becoming part of another society and contributing to it from

strength. (See HOLMSTRÖM above). This right of access to other cultures than the traditional dominant one is not thought of as encouragement to separatism but rather by a means of development and enrichment. A more radical political view argues that literature provides key texts and specific procedures for «deconstructing» them by which to explore the contradictions and conflicts which exist within and between social groups and these have particular relevance for the recent migrant, refugee or young person growing up in a culture from which he or she feels alienated.

The second proposal is the mirror image of the right of access expressed above and can be put as the right of all students growing up in a society which acknowledges its diversity to have access to a variety of cultures and to «learn to live in the modern world with mutual respect». (HOLSTRÖM, page 120). From a radical viewpoint this would have to include facing up to the conflicts inherent within a specific society and educating students for full participation in shaping its future.

With respect to content choice, it is easier to say why those responsible for literature in the curriculum ought to be predisposed to thinking across cultural boundaries than to offer guidelines for practice. The «cultural heritage» is often defined in terms of a single culture and powerfully maintained through examination syllabuses and text books. Arguments for broadening concepts of the literary heritage and for breaking down the isolation of literary studies so that it is integrated with talking, writing, drama, other creative arts and the curriculum in general often meet with stern opposition from those who are entrenched within their national and subject teaching positions. Thus new choices of text have to be argued, generally in terms of the benefits to all students of recognition that they live in an interdependent world, and particularly in terms of the possible benefits to individuals or groups from minority cultural backgrounds.

A good example of the shift in perspective needed if school curricula are to lose their historical legacy of racist thinking is found in the suggestion by HOLMSTRÖM that texts which reflect a colonial view of the sub-continent of India should be replaced by writing which expresses aspects of Indian experience «from within». The necessary shift, she argues, is to choose texts from South Asia rather than about it. Such reading provides the means whereby Eurocentric literature can be re-examined and seen in terms of insights afforded from the stance of different political and cultural assumptions. Examples would be epics in translation, modern writing in Indian regional languages in translation, modern writing by Indians in English, autobiography and historical writing. (HOLMSTRÖM, p 119-120).

The freedom of the teacher to choose which texts he or she will use in the classroom varies considerably from one European educational system to another and also varies according to the age group under consideration. Where choice is possible with respect to individual and class-group reading, the teacher can take into account the interests and backgrounds of the students and build from their experience and knowledge - which may include literature written in other than the standard language. The criteria governing the choice of texts can be represented as operating along axes which relate the imaginative power of a text to its informational content in terms of social and political insights.

The importance of starting from the language and experience of students was emphasised at the Conference and particularly in a paper by Terry FURLONG which the available space has not allowed us to include. It is possible to build on what students already know that is written in other languages and dialects and out from their own oral and written storytelling. Further, the reading and discussion of texts create opportunities for a challenge to be made to the consumer role imposed on students by the media which dominate their societies. This will of course only be the case where students are encouraged to question and relate, evaluate and choose standpoints. If given space for their own interpretations and initiatives in relation to texts, students can develop into autonomous readers. It is through discussion of these aspects of texts which they find alternately strange and recognisable that inexperienced readers become more experienced. Perhaps most important of all is that they should become able to work out for themselves the placing of texts within the actual contexts of their production and reproduction in changing contemporary societies.

Conclusion

An intercultural approach to literature starts from students' concerns and embraces as much of world literature as is practicable for a given age group. It involves the culture and writing of the dominant community being viewed in new ways. It includes the literatures of «third world» countries, migratory and refugee communities. It includes under its definition of texts: oral literature recorded and in performance, autobiographical writing by young people; publications from minority communities; photography, film and television; drama and performance arts and music. It recognises the right of every student from whatever culture or class to have justice done with respect to his/her cultural heritage and it acknowledges a right of access for all students to understanding the broader community and world of which they are a part.

Inevitably, such a set of assumptions cannot be translated into practice without facing up to the serious conflicts of interest and the differences in perspective which are aroused when choices are made which challenge traditional categories and examine taken-for-granted power relations. However, to do nothing is to leave students subject to misinformation about the world in which they live and to maintain the Eurocentrism that is all too evident in many current syllabuses, and school stock rooms. An approach to literature is needed which will sensitise teachers and students alike to the subtlety and complexity of traditions of writing which are not located in European and American moulds. It is important to know what cultural boundaries minorities feel; in many cases they extend beyond European nation states into other parts of the world and involve very different perspectives on religion, history and culture from those general in Europe. Only by major revaluations will it be possible to reduce, with respect to literature, the prejudices and racism which are a contemporary feature of European societies and encourage students to see it as their duty to oppose oppression. (See DAHL above)

DRAMA - PAPERS

The two papers included both describe dramatic improvisations based on the confrontation between two cultures and involve some political and personal issues which most clearly concern the students. Both discuss the relationship between the school and the community.

Elyse DODGSON's paper describes a series of projects with groups of girls in which social, political and historical issues are explored. The themes predominantly centre round the students' experiences of sexism and racism and the emphasis of the teaching goes beyond subjectivity into research and political analysis. Using authentic personal testimony and researched material, the work records the struggles of women and black people.

Helge JOB's paper describes work which began as a means of extending the language competence of Turkish students through setting up a Turkish-German drama group. The projects described each deal with ways the students and their teachers found of combatting and undermining the hostility experienced by Turks in Germany and increasing contact between young German students and their Turkish contemporaries.

DRAMA FOR A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY (1)

Elyse DODGSON

Vauxhall Manor School, now amalgamated with Beaufoy School, was a girls' comprehensive school until July 1983. The school population was represented by many different cultures but the majority of pupils were of West Indian origin. The work of the drama department, described here, is based on an approach to drama that has evolved over a number of years.

It is my wish as a teacher to help my pupils achieve a better understanding of the world they live in and to become dynamic active people. I would like them to appreciate some of the concepts and to have the courage and conviction to deal with the social and political issues that are going to effect their lives. Thus, over the past five years I have tried to devise strategies and develop materials that will help us explore social, political and historical issues through drama.

The issues that many of my pupils choose to explore are often directly related to their own experiences of being female and black. Concern with these issues has extended beyond the classroom to intensive production work with pupils of all ages. As the concept of «community education» has begun to flourish in the school, we have forged strong links with parents and others in the locality. Drama has extended across the curriculum as collaborative work with other subjects has emerged. In my view, drama has a vital role to play in educating pupils, parents and teachers for a multicultural society.

In attempting to define my own approach to drama, I can see that there are three elements present in all the work I have done; whether that be in the context of classroom drama, or working towards production, or of collaboration with other teachers.

First and foremost the teacher and the pupils must be able to operate the drama form. I believe this requires skills that we can all develop - the ability to explore another person's role, context and situation and, through the understanding that this brings, the ability to make decisions within the drama form while at the same time reflecting critically upon that role and situation. This requires the ability to co-operate within the group in the growth of drama work. Each participant must be able to identify actively with the drama situation and to work effectively with the rest of the group. In drama, the part played by language is crucial. Although movement and mime are important, it is largely the pupils' use of language which will determine the depth and intensity of the drama experience.

In my view the skills necessary for classroom drama need to be defined, but I do not believe they should be taught as skills for their own sake. These skills can be learnt from the drama itself. Drama is a unique method of learning. It provides the participants with a first hand experience of living through, engaging with, and acting upon, a range of subject matter. It also requires constant consideration of the structure of the drama on the part of the teacher; of its conventions and the range of devices and strategies available.

Finally I have become more and more aware of the need to do research in order to introduce background materials into this work. In recent years I have become dissatisfied with many of the lessons I have taught, participated in, or observed, in the whole area of social issues teaching through drama, but particularly in the attempt to explore racism and sexism through drama. Themes surrounding these issues were for me becoming repetitive and superficial when approached primarily at the level of subjective feeling and intuition. It seems to me that an approach such as this which does not introduce an element of fact, personal testimony and political analysis leaves us teaching pupils no more than what they in fact already know. We thus fail to give them the tools with which to gain an altered perspective that would affect their lives and bring about personal and political change.

The criteria for choosing material will vary according to subject and focus. One criteria however, remains constant: the teacher must be able to see dramatic potential in the material. I tend to choose material that falls into at least one of five categories: factual material that might help to inform the drama; dilemmas that would confront the pupils with the problems that are faced or have been faced by others; vivid images that could be used to heighten the drama and sometimes provide a focus for it; analysis of a particular issue that would help to place the work in a wider context; and personal testimony that records the individual struggles, the triumphs and the frustrations of other people's lives. It is the introduction of authentic personal accounts into the lesson that engages my pupils most profoundly on an emotional level with the knowledge that the work they are doing is based on real situations and the experience of real people.

Drama in the classroom

A fourth year group wanting to explore the theme of racism and racial discrimination finally decided after a lengthy discussion to explore through drama the notion of «apartheid» in South Africa. One of the girls mentioned the word «apartheid» and it became clear that some of the others had never heard of it. They did not realise that Julie, who is white, would not be going to the same school as Alison, who is black and is sitting next to her in class. This produced shock and a lot of incentive to find out more.

Before their next lesson I collected books, articles and pamphlets for us to read. The fourth year social studies course covers this topic so there were materials available for both the girls and myself to look at. I wanted the pupils to understand something about a person's own individual struggle against apartheid whether they be black or white. I finally decided to concentrate on a series of incidents described in a book by Hilda BERNSTEIN, «For their triumphs and for their tears» (2), a moving document about women's experiences in apartheid South Africa.

The incident had to do with the pass laws and the decision of the South African government to issue pass books to women in the 1950s, a condition that was up until then only imposed upon African men. The description of these events contained a great deal of factual material about the system of apartheid. It presented us with some powerful dilemmas that would affect both black and white people living under this system, and offered us the opportunity of imagining the lives of individual women in this situation through the personal testimony given in this book. I planned to use the pass books as a symbol of apartheid. In order to do this I needed to develop a structure that would enable us to maximise the potential of the material.

Teacher in role

The device of teacher in role is one I most often employ in order to feed information into the drama. To employ this effectively I sometimes have to memorise information beforehand. In the first lesson I decided to adopt the role of a protest organiser in the «pass book campaign». I would address a secret meeting of black and white women to inform them of the kinds of demonstrations that were beginning all over the nation in response to the pass books being issued to women for the first time. In role, I could explain, from a position within the drama, the significance of the pass books and how they would affect people's lives. I could give the pupils information about how the pass books restricted freedom of movement and choice of occupation and, in role, they could respond to this information.

I told them of some of the protests that had previously taken place: silent marches, the burning of the pass books, making banners, and composing songs and slogans. This was all based on the factual information in BERNSTEIN's book, from which I prepared and rehearsed my speech as if working from a script. Then I asked them what this particular group of women could do that would serve as their own individual protest. The pass books were to be introduced in their areas the following week. They must prepare their own act of defiance.

Making theatrical statements

By asking the girls to create and execute their own particular protest in some formal way I was really asking them to prepare and rehearse a piece of theatre. I find asking pupils to make theatrical statements of this kind a useful means of giving focus to the work. It provides a powerful stimulus for moving the drama on and illustrates the very thin line I believe to exist between drama and theatre.

The girls designed and rehearsed the following protest. According to their plan, the pass books would be coming to the town by train, and they, black and white women together, would sit in a tight circle, lock hands on the train-lines and try to stop the train. At the same time they would shout and chant the slogan they composed:

«Remember all us women,
Remember what we mean,
If you will not hear us,
We will still be seen,
We won't have these pass books,
We just want to be free!»

There was great involvement in the preparation of the protest. The pupils decided to wear black arm bands as a further act of defiance. I was designated the official who was to disembark from the train when, and if, the women succeeded in stopping. They rehearsed their demonstration over and over again until they were confident that it would have an impact on the officials.

Spontaneous improvisation

I asked them, before they actually took their places on the tracks, to look in the direction of the train and state how they felt about what they were going to do:

«I'm scared, but I have nothing to lose.»

«I'm scared, but we must all be equal in this country.»

«They have no right to stop me on the street;
they will split up all the families.»

I noticed that already the girls were beginning to use information they had received in previous lessons. The material was beginning to give them something to think about and to provide a basis for their drama work. It was also beginning to extend their use of language. When they all took their places the planned protest began and I stepped out of the train, acting the part of a bemused and disbelieving government official. They continued with their chanting as I laughed at their protest and raged at the fact that black and white women were joining hands (3).

Several days after the lesson one of the girls explained what the work had meant to her:

> «I think what we found out in the drama surprised most of us ... Sometimes when you thought of it you just wished it was made up. It was like a shock; you never thought it could be that bad ... Afterwards when we weren't in lessons we got together and talked about it and we said if we could we'd like to do something about it.»

Towards production

For many drama specialists there is a distinction between drama as a process of learning and theatre as an end product. In recent years these two approaches have been brought closer together with the recognition that many drama teachers use theatrical elements in their work even if this is not directed towards polished performance. An exclusive regard for drama as a «final text» can of course be damaging to the process of exploration which constitutes the stuff of drama. For me, however, working towards theatrical production has been a most useful and rewarding part of my approach to drama. I see it as a chance to extend the work that takes place in the classroom. It affords us the opportunity of intensifying and developing materials and strategies that are used in the drama lesson. Working after school without a rigid time limit there is more incentive for experiment, reflection and follow-up work. It also enables pupils across the whole secondary age range to work together.

Throughout the past five years working towards production has given us the opportunity to develop specific ideas that pupils have had to turn these ideas into long term products. For example, one project, Slave Girl, was about the female experience of slavery in 19th century America. Another project, which we called Wicked Women looked at the persecution of women as witches in medieval Europe. Motherland (4), our most recent venture, was about women's experiences of migration from the West Indies to Britain in the 1950s. Marcia SMITH, who as a pupil has been involved in the previous projects, interviewed twenty-three women in the local community; the testimony we gathered from the interviews was used as the basis of the play. A brief attempt to describe the «rehearsal» process in relation to Motherland may give some understanding of the potential and problems of this kind of work. The phases are not discrete; each new phase encompasses the previous one. What we are concerned with here is a process of building, not simply a linear progression. We worked on each of the plays for nearly a year - having enough time is crucial.

Phase One - Absorbing

It is essential that the pupils spend a considerable amount of time familiarising themselves with the available materials (5). In this initial phase, therefore, the emphasis is on becoming familiar with the topic and introducing background materials - primary sources and other documents containing the social history of the period - to all those who are going to take part in the project.

We began during the autumn term to publicise the formation of the Motherland Company. This was open to all pupils from the first to sixth form. At the same time, Marcia SMITH began interviewing the women, starting with her own mother and other female members of her family. At first the interviews were tentative and rather general, as was much of the early work in drama. With time, however, they became more sharply focused.

At our first meeting we introduced some of the materials to the group. I worked in role as a recruitment officer from Britain who had been sent to the West Indies to conduct a series of meetings about migration. I spoke to family groups about the opportunities they would have in Britain. Having worked in small groups on the economic situation in the West Indies after the Second World War, the girls, working in role, arrived at the meeting expressing hope but also a great deal of fear and doubt. In my role I could allay some of those doubts while at the same time giving them more information about the conditions in the West Indies at the time.

Phase Two - Experimenting

In this kind of work it is important that the notion of a final polished text is deferred as long as possible. This then is not only the longest but to me the most important phase. The principle of experimentation underlies all the work, stressing the contribution of each «rehearsal» to the final production. This phase incorporates all the exploration we do on the theme through drama.

By January 1982, we were meeting for three two hour sessions per week. We worked thematically, choosing a particular aspect of the women's experiences to focus on; such as first impressions, housing, earning a living, bringing up children and relationships with men. The transcribed interviews fed directly into the rehearsals. We worked in many different ways: as a whole group with the teacher in role; in smaller groups developing improvised work; and individually trying to recreate personal experiences and then writing about them. We worked through mime and movement, wrote verse and told stories. It was at

this stage that the element of song became so important. Excited by a particular aspect of the drama work girls would come back with new ideas; lyrics sometimes scribbled on crumpled pieces of paper and melodies recorded on tapes. The songs recorded the girls' own attempts to come to terms with the significance of the materials and became part of Motherland.

Phase Three - Forming

A willingness to think creatively about the drama form lies at the heart of the work that we have undertaken over the last five years. At a certain stage we begin to think more deliberately about shaping the play. Throughout this period experimenting is more vital than ever. Some things will work immediately and the group feels certain that they will want to incorporate them into the final product. We have been less sure about other ideas we tried.

At the heart of the Motherland project were the twenty-three women who had each by the end of spring term been interviewed four or five times. Over half of them were mothers of the girls in the play. We felt we needed to meet with them as often as possible. Through a series of open rehearsals we shared with them our interpretation of their life stories. At the first open rehearsal we decided to select several aspects of our «work in progress» to show them. The women were visibly moved by what they saw, made suggestions, shared anecdotes and songs, and pointed out anything anachronistic. The girls seemed eager to learn and continued to seek assurances from the women that they had «got it right!» The open rehearsals reassured us that we were heading in the right direction.

Phase Four - Polishing

In working towards a finished product, it becomes necessary to gain a clear sense of audience. We begin to visualise the play with its technical effects, design, lighting costume and musical accompaniment. We become increasingly concerned with projection, movement and stage groupings as we begin to see the drama more from an audience's point of view.

It is significant that throughout this phase in Motherland we were still absorbing new information - the interviews were still taking place. We were still experimenting - scenes were being cut and new scenes developed. We were still forming. We had our last rehearsal with the interviewees present just before we moved into the Oval House Theatre for our run of nine performances. Motherland was finally a polished product, but the elements that contributed to its process were an integral part of every performance.

I believe the contribution that drama has made to those involved in the project can best be summed up by the following statement made by one of the company and a daughter of one of the twenty-three women:

> «When you have to say the testimony that the women have said, when you have to sit there, when you think about it especially when you have to learn it, you're understanding it. You begin to understand what your parents always told you.»

Drama across the curriculum

Theatrical presentation is but one possible outcome of this basic approach to drama. As I tried to emphasise earlier, drama does not have to lead to promotion or even to a polished presentation. There may be many different outcomes to work in drama. Pupils can be stimulated to find out more about a particular historical period; they can be prompted to practice a range of different kinds of writing; they can learn the value of explorative talk and discussion. All these are valuable outcomes of the drama process.

In the documentation which follows I shall show drama being used as a way of exploring social and political issues in the context of humanities teaching. The range of drama in fact goes beyond this area of the curriculum. Since most of my own work has been carried out in collaboration with history and social studies teachers, I shall limit myself, however, to discussing the application of drama to this particular field of enquiry.

The following is an account of the work done with two history teachers at Vauxhall Manor - Jane WOODALL and Teresa CAREY - on the third year history course. The course, «People on the move to Britain» is structured around a series of in-depth case studies about migration to Britain (6). The first case study focuses on the Roman occupation; the second on the growth of the black community in Britain, with particular reference to migration from the West Indies after the Second World War.

I worked alongside both teachers in the classroom throughout the year, using drama where and when it was appropriate. It was not our concern to make the teaching of history more dramatic, but rather to use drama to enable all pupils to gain a better understanding of historical events, personalities, concepts and ideas - in short to become better historians. The lesson documented here is an example of how the history teachers and myself combined our subject specialisms to show that there were black people living in Britain long before the 1950s, and to give our pupils some insight into the experiences of the black community in the past (7).

The Black Poor, London, 1786

By the 18th century, most black people living in Britain were free but the majority faced terrible hardships and poverty. In the spring of 1786, after one of the worst winters on record, The Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor was set up by a group of wealthy philanthropists. The plan adopted by the committee involved the «repatriation» of black people in Britain to Sierra Leone (8).

The pupils having been informed of the conditions prevailing in the winter of 1786, were asked to take on the roles of the poor while contemporary newspaper accounts describing their plight were read to them. They were then asked to speak aloud a word or phrase which expressed their feelings. Some of their responses were as follows:

«I need warmth and heat.»
«I'm perishing.»
«I'm starving.»
«Sleep.»
«I cannot bear it.»
«Why am I alive?»

The pupils still in role, were then told that they had survived the winter and that, at last, there was a ray of hope as the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor had called a meeting of the black community to be held in Lisson Grove, Paddington. In the improvised version of this meeting that ensued Jane WOODALL took on the role of Jonas HANWAY, Chairman of the Committee, and read out a speech based on primary sources which outlined the benefits of the «repatriation» scheme. The pupils were encouraged to sign a document (a simplified version of the 1786 original) (9) thereby pledging their commitment to the scheme whereby they would migrate to Sierra Leone.

There was much discussion in role about the advantages and disadvantages of signing the document and a number of questions addressed to Jonas HANWAY concerning the implication of his Committee's plan of action. Following this large group discussion the pupils were divided into groups of between three and four (kinship groups of families or friends) and asked to work out in role whether they would accept «repatriation» or remain to face continuing hardships in Britain. This raised the question of historical accuracy. For most of the girls in role initially decided to sign the memorandum whereas, in fact, the majority of the black community in the 18th century had resisted.

In this case the problem of inaccuracy was resolved within the structure of the drama. Anticipating this situation, I had researched for the role of Ottobah CUGOANO, a leader of the black community initially employed by the Committee to recruit volunteers for repatriation. He quickly realised the problems inherent in the scheme and began to warn the black community. Just as the pupils had completed the signing of the «memorandum», I adopted the role of CUGOANO and put forward the arguments against Jonas HANWAY's scheme.

The lesson ended with a brief discussion during which both teachers clarified the relation between what had just happened in the lesson and what took place in 1786.

Mary SEACOLE

The question of historical accuracy was raised again in our lesson about Mary SEACOLE. This example shows how drama can be used to enable pupils to understand the role played by an individual in history. Mary SEACOLE was a little-known black nurse, a contemporary of Florence Nightingale who, despite establishment opposition, went to the Crimea to nurse the wounded soldiers of the British Army in the mid-nineteenth century. The teacher, Teresa CAREY, took on the role of Mary SEACOLE and the class was given a problem to solve. As government officials, employed by the War Office, the girls were given the responsibility of finding out about Mary SEACOLE's experience of nursing and of deciding whether or not to send her to the Crimea to nurse.

We had already done a lot of work about nineteenth century attitudes to women with the class and had discussed the kinds of questions an interviewing body of men might ask a black woman wanting to nurse British troops. The pupils were asked to prepare the room for the interview. In role, as representatives of the War Office, they asked:

«How did you manage to get to Britain?»
«What references and qualifications do you have?»
«What is your experience of nursing?»

The teacher, also in role, not only managed to convey biographical information about Mary SEACOLE's life (10), but also managed to give some indication of the personality of this determined and courageous woman.

When asked to give their verdict on whether or not to send her, the class decided in Mary SEACOLE's favour. The problem was that in 1786 the War Office had come to precisely the opposite conclusion. Clearly, our pupils had emphasised with Mary SEACOLE more than the War Office representatives had done. However, this historical

inaccuracy was resolved in the follow-up discussion. In this case the girls were forced to face the reality of the 19th century attitudes by contrasting them with their own decision within the drama. The impact of this discussion was heightened as the «co-teacher», still in role as Mary SEACOLE, read extracts from her autobiography, showing her feelings of anger, frustration and grief at being turned down; and her ultimate determination to continue the work by financing herself as a nurse in the Crimea.

Some indication of the contribution that drama can make to the teaching of history is given by the girls' own comments on these lessons:

> «You enjoy it more when you're doing drama.»
> «You can experience what it was like in those days.»
> «It makes it more interesting, it gives you more experience.»
> «When you put drama and history together we know what we're doing. We're not making up silly things - we're doing actual things.»

Conclusion

In this piece I have tried to outline my basic approach to drama as a subject, as an art form and as a method of learning. In offering brief illustrations of the use of drama in a variety of situations I have necessarily simplified a highly complex development. Nevertheless, each of these snapshots illustrates an important dimension of the drama work at Vauxhall Manor: its basis in collaborative learning, between both pupils and between pupils and teachers; its links with the local community; and its stress on the need for an informed approach to multicultural education. In my opinion, neither racial prejudice nor racial discrimination will come to an end if conceived in purely a-historical terms. In order to contribute to social change, work in schools should be informed by an understanding of the historical roots of racism and sexism that reach into the very structure of society.

Clearly drama has a vital role to play in any such attempt. It can only fulfil its potential in this area, however, if it is seen not only as a teaching tool, but as a highly sophisticated way of thinking about historical and social issues. This means that all those with responsibility for drama both at the classroom and the administrative levels, need to develop it as a vital cross-curricular force capable of confronting two major concerns within contemporary schooling: education for a multicultural society and equality of opportunity for girls.

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TURKISH-GERMAN YOUTH THEATRE OF THE NEUKÖLLN ADULT EDUCATION CENTRE OF BERLIN

Helge JOB

For two years there has existed in Neukölln a Turkish-German theatre group. Its present 25 members are school children, apprentices, unemployed and students between 17-23 years of age, who are led by two lecturers from the Adult Education Centre.

The group originally arose out of an intensive German course for Turkish youngsters. During the five day course the pupils made swift progress and quickly outgrew pure text book instruction; apart from that, because of the long time scale of the course it was necessary to develop varied and lively forms of learning. Therefore in May 1982 we began the first drama exercises which at first served to «loosen up» the lessons and to develop active speech competence. A short story by B TRAVEN «The Big Industrialist» was rewritten in dialogue form, new dialogues were added and the whole thing prepared as a radio play, to which then, as the speech hurdles were taken with increasing ease, scenes were improvised and added. These play activities were viewed first of all just as fun; as irrelevant playing around within the framework of the instruction. The pupils only discovered the fuller possibilities of acting in the theatre, of appearing in public, after the publication of the «Lummer Edict» with its new conditions within the alien's law in their first, (later toned down) form. Many of them were very worried, agitated and wanted to take some sort of action in order not to let themselves fall into a feeling of impotence. In the school and on the street the young people experienced a wave of rejection on the part of racist Germans, who felt themselves justified and strengthened. How could one prepare the ground for conversations with Germans about the co-existence of Berliners and foreigners? How could one succeed in just making the people listen to the other arguments? How, above all, to reach the young people who were neither for nor against foreigners, but for whom the problem was simply of no interest?

Suddenly the stage play appeared to be the right medium to gain contact with young Germans in the schools and at the same time to start the ball rolling against their own resignation. As the framework for our first attempt we chose a reading passage from our German text book («By one, who set out to find his luck») a satirical, topsy-turvy-world story in fairy tale form about the happy experiences of a young Turk in the Federal Republic of Germany. In order to demonstrate the artificiality of this beautifully coloured «dream level» the text was read out by a story teller and mimed by the actors. The cordial reception of the new arrivals, their move into a dream flat, the warm interest of the German neighbours, marriage with their lovely daughter,

adventurous work and a happy end. This ironic, fairytale-like plot was interspersed by a «reality level», scenes into which flowed all the experiences of the young people in respect of racial hatred and daily discrimination in all aspects of life - being thrown out of the discos as well as enduring the tormenting lack of space in the one-room «guest-worker» flat. The reality scenes were developed in improvisations by the group together; the dialogues which arose spontaneously were polished and fixed. The young people acted the play in several schools and in local town festivals in Neukölln and Schöneberg with great zest and received respect from their fellow German pupils. Some members of the group also succeeded for the first time in overcoming the barrier of speechlessness in articulating their problems and points of view outside the German course, the school and training places.

However, with growing confidence, sensitised ability in recognising their own position and increased efforts to improve their basic social conditions, the problems of the pupils increased. Many of the young people were working for a qualification or further qualification and were constantly subjected to a two or threefold load - in the morning school or training, in the afternoon German course and theatre, and as well remedial lessons in English, looking after brothers and sisters and much more. In addition came increased conflicts with parents. Many parents, unsure and mistrustful, feared exposure of their children at the performances, had religious and moral reservations against acting altogether or saw it as a time-stealing luxury; many parents suspected that their children were to be harnessed to a political cart, others saw the developing independence of their adolescent daughters as a threat and feared an estrangement of their children from family and tradition. In many cases we didn't succeed in dispelling the parents' misgivings. So our course lost its participants again and again, above all the girls, who were no longer allowed to act with us. After a euphoric half year the remaining people lost heart and their bearings. Most had now been in Berlin three-four years; return to Turkey was no longer a natural wish, Berlin no longer only a stopping-off place. Among many of them there grew the will to find a place here between the two cultures and, at the same time, the fear of later not being able to integrate again into Turkey, fear of conflicts with their parents and of the racial hatred which was manifesting itself more and more openly.

The increasing pressure of these problems, mostly summed up under the heading «conflict of identity» showed us leaders of the course that we could not help these young people satisfactorily merely with lessons in German. They had already found out that integration problems can only be

partly traced back to language difficulties. Our work had long ago become more of a social-pedagogic activity in the cultural field. We wanted to stay firmly with acting; it's fun, brings recognition, brings out a feeling of belonging and self confidence. The development of speech competence appears at the same time as a by-product. The theatre group had to get out of the purely school area and become an institution, which could over and above the general aim of entering into dialogue with Germans and foreigners by means of the play, give security and support in coping with the problems of life of the young people. Besides this, it itself had to practise «integration» - the sporadic contracts with German audiences was not enough. Since Turkish youngsters could not and were not allowed to go where Germans of the same age meet, we had to invite the latter to us.

In the winter 1982-83 we received official permission to do theatre work with the group, which in the meantime had shrunk, and we made an appeal which many Turkish and six German youngsters answered, many more being interested than had been expected. So we, course leaders planned a play with great speed so as not to lose steam of the collective energy. We hoped that by means of a fait-accompli without a long discussion that this was the best way to weld this heterogenous group of people, who lacked a common base, into a group. (From experience many theatre groups are talked to death at the beginning.) This action was successful although of course it also concealed disadvantages: thus some members did not feel themselves fully responsible for the whole thing and thought at first they could back it up more if the play had really been the concept of the whole group. On the other hand there was however the keeness to act of the nucleus of the old group which had been wearied by change and the loss of some fellow actors and who immediately wanted to get going, and who were used to our specific way of working. One further difficulty lay in the fact that we could not immediately do justice to every talent and need in this first phase of getting to know each other. Because of the great number of actors we had to take refuge in many «crowd scenes» whereby not everyone could show him or herself to advantage as a soloist, according to his/her abilities. In spite of these difficulties only one at this time left the newly formed group, whose members in astonishingly short time met for other activities (like volley ball and occasional parties).

The play «Asik» originated on the basis of school essays about the very first impressions of newly arrived youngsters in Berlin. We wrote a review-type succession of scenes held together by the main figure of «Asik» a Turkish storyteller and solo entertainer whom it moves from Anatolia to Berlin (the idea for this main figure came from the museum education service who themselves had for a time planned a theatre project with young people). The main

figure does not succeed in bringing his poems and songs to the people. They and their interpreter are out of place. Instead he is confronted by a series of displeasing impressions and strange, often hostile people about each of whom he comments in prose or poetry. In order to make the confrontation of two cultures not only the theme of the play but also the theme of the group, we had Turkish parts played by Germans and German parts played by Turks wherever the possibility offered itself. The play was put on many times in schools over a period of six months, eventually it was put on at the cultural festival in Neukölln «kiez international», and at the foreign theatre week in Hamburg.

The idea for our third play came during a group stay in Malente in the Easter holidays of 1983. The story of Ahmet and Andrea, the story about happiness and sorrow of a love relationship between a Turkish boy and a German girl. The combination Turkish girl-German boy was thrown out as unrealistic and unplayable in Malente. Work on the play was very productive and for all those taking part very satisfying. The topic moved everyone very much. From a working group of 6-8 people rough drafts were produced: the topic was discussed in consultation with scientific literature, the outline of the plot was developed, scene changes were considered, scene suggestions from the course leaders were discussed. At the full meeting the results of the work were put forward to everyone and immediately tried out for their suitability. Successful parts were kept, dialogues fixed. So originated a play in whose origin all group members had taken part.

The premiere was in March 1984. The play was received enthusiastically. Since March the play has been put on, on average, once a week in Berlin schools, youth centres, communities and at theatre meetings. Performances also took place outside Berlin and are planned for Autumn/ Winter 84/85. At the moment the group is working on the same basis as with «Ahmet and Andrea» on a fourth production of their own. As well as that, Turkish group members are holding a course in Turkish for the German actors. Regretfully some members will leave the group in Autumn, because of work commitments. To what extent new members are taken on, or a second group formed, is not yet decided. The intention of the course leaders is a qualitative and quantitative extension of the work, for which of course the agreement of the political decision-makers is necessary.

Conclusion

1. Theatre-play gives the chance to communicate with a strange and hostile civilisation by using a «second language». We reach the public and with the help of the play - by using jokes and irony - we get a hearing for our problems and positions. A dialogue can begin, which removes prejudices and leads to toleration.

2. The creating and the performance of theatre-plays, which come to an understanding of the experiences of youth, leads to affective learning in «German as second language». Because the experiences of the youth are discussed by using the second language, the emotional relations to the second language change while on the other side, cognitive positions are advanced through dramatic play.

3. Theatre-plays and theatre-groups of this kind can lead to a dialogue between different civilisations. The group is a place where intercultural learning is possible. Actors of different nationalities come in contact with other civilisations and develop appreciation for other cultures. Positions referring to their own culture are also changed.

Translated by Glenis SHAW.

DRAMA - DISCUSSION

There seems to be general agreement that any adequate description of the Creative Arts will not omit their international and intercultural dimensions, anymore than it will assert that cultures are static. The Creative Arts emanate from the interactions between people and cultures: marking similarities and differences, continuities and discontinuities, and providing a means of expression for struggle and conflict. In particular, dramatic activity lends itself particularly well to enabling students to develop empathy with others by taking on other roles and other situations in dramatic play. It has great potential for sensitising students to one another as individuals and as members of different groups and for generating understanding of issues and experiences beyond their own. It is also worth adding that, because it combines both affective and cognitive modes of learning, drama is an especially appropriate location for study of some of the issues which most perplex a society.

Thus drama appears to have a major part to play in a number of areas of an intercultural curriculum. Elyse DODGSON emphasised above one relevant role for dramatic activity by proposing an «informed approach»,

> «... neither racial prejudice nor racial discrimination will come to an end if conceived in purely a-historical terms. In order to contribute to social change, work in schools should be informed by an understanding of the historical roots of racism and sexism that reach into the very structure of society.»
>
> (DODGSON, p 145)

This emphasis on enabling students to become informed, dynamic, active people with the courage and conviction to deal with the social and political issues which will effect their lives would appear to have central importance for an intercultural curriculum.

Another relevant task, highlighted by Helge JOB for classroom or youth theatre dramatic projects, is to bring cultures into contact so that not only does one group develop appreciation of another's culture but also their view of their own culture is changed.

> «... we had Turkish parts played by Germans and German parts played by Turks wherever the possibility offered itself.»
>
> (JOB p 150)

The topics listed by DODGSON and JOB give a clear indication of the kinds of choice needed in their specific contexts. For DODGSON, they include: the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the experiences of women migrating from the West Indies to the United Kingdom in the 1950s, female experiences under slavery, the persecution of witches, the experiences of the black poor in London in the 18th century and the life of Mary SEACOLE, a black nurse of the 19th century. For JOB, topics include the so-called «happy» experiences of a Turk in the Federal Republic of Germany - an ironic story interwoven with scenes from the reality of life in German cities; another the experiences of a Turkish story-teller whose poems and songs, like their interpreter are out of place in a hostile Germany; and lastly a boy-girl relationship across warring cultures. It seems worth recapitulating in this detail because it shows similarities of approach adopted with students the majority of whom feel to some extent oppressed by the societies in which they live. It also shows differences in approach; with the work of the Berlin youth theatre placing a high degree of reliance on irony and humour as a means of establishing contact with a strange and hostile culture and the London group who performed «Motherland» (see DODGSON below) relying on informants from within the community, inviting them to open rehearsals, in an attempt to get the facts as accurately represented as possible.

Teaching the kind of content described here raises problems. Neither the use of humour nor of informants, important though both undoubtedly can be, can prevent criticisms that the actors have got the balance wrong or that the teachers have been pushing their own political line. Such work also can create dissonance between students and their parents. In the German example, Turkish parents had religious and moral objects to their children's involvement. Some regarded drama as a time-stealing luxury, were suspicious that the teachers had political motives, and feared estrangement of their children - particularly daughters - from the family.

The papers included here do not, unfortunately, give much guidance to those who teach in situations where there are few students from ethnic minorities. The choice of content in such situations will naturally be different but drama within an intercultural curriculum for all schools similarly requires that students develop an understanding of the pressures that operate in society and become receptive to other cultures. Drama can explore the exercise of power by one group over another and can be a means for examining and countering stereotyping and myths generated within a society. In drama, as elsewhere in the curriculum, general principles of respect for persons will suggest a need for opposition to aspects of society which are unjust or racist.

The assertion of the importance of drama in second language learning is substantially based on the view that the development of speech competence relates to having something of importance to say. (See JOB above). This fits closely with the emphasis in dramatic work generally on enabling students to work to some purpose and to make their own autonomous decisions within the activity.

Drama can provide second language learners with certain valuable conditions for improvement in addition to this in that the improvisations can take place within a clear structure; they have opportunity to practice, in safety, roles in another culture; they can work in groups; and they can work reciprocally with speakers of the dominant language. In JOB's account German students are instructed in Turkish by their fellow actors.

The general value of group collaboration should perhaps be emphasised here. All the work of exploring the role, context and situation of others and not least the opportunity to reflect critically on issues and situations is dependent on the creation of an atmosphere of trust and collaboration. The teacher acting in role can often be helpful here in setting the mood and sharpening awareness where stopping the action would, by contrast, disrupt concentration and co-operation. (See DODGSON above).

Conclusion

The drama curriculum lends itself to development from an intercultural perspective by enabling students to take on the issues which have most importance in their societies. There is, however, still need for research into the historical and contemporary multicultural aspects of the Creative Arts and for teachers to receive guidance on how to react to the concrete situations in which they find themselves.

Drama teachers need to operate with great sensitivity and predict how their work especially if presented publicly, will be interpreted. They need to have a dynamic view of culture and high expectations of their students as future participants in society. The collaboration, analysis and decision-making necessary for conducting dramatic activities can be precursors to later collaboration, decision-making and action.

SOCIAL SCIENCES - PAPERS

Political Education

Michele BORRELLI and Helmut ESSINGER discuss the potential meanings of the term intercultural education and then establish four principles from which to generate an intercultural curriculum. In their discussion of political education, they foreground the need for students to understand the power structures and ideologies of their societies and thereby become able to examine the ways in which racist thinking, inequality and injustice are sustained. They propose an analytical, political education which can generate a challenge to the exploitation of one human being by another and can transcend nationalisms. The suggested curriculum is framed in terms of common humanity and, specifically, solidarity between peoples who at present are trapped in their isolation from each other.

History

Nigel FILE examines the persistence of racist ideas and assumptions in the history materials commonly used by teachers and refers back to the still relevant criticisms of the United Kingdom history teaching made by black people during World War II. The paper then outlines six school syllabuses which attempt to address the present concerns of European and world society and concludes with a critical analysis of a widely accepted model of history teaching which he castigates for its lack of emphasis on interculturally relevant content.

Ronald DONK's paper proposes a major re-writing of the objectives of history teaching and, like FILE, he takes as a baseline that western, ethnocentric approaches still dominate history teaching. He argues that the subject is in danger of being lost from the school timetable in the Netherlands if it cannot break out of its traditional framework and find greater relevance to a changing, volatile society. History could, alternatively, contribute to an education which enables all students in Dutch society «to participate on an equal basis in today's world and tomorrow's».

Geography

Gunilla SVINGBY draws attention to the gap that exists between the governmental declaration of intent that it is «the task of the comprehensive school to foster solidarity towards other countries, people and cultures» and with «minority groups in our own country» with the practices which continue in schools. Like FILE, she points

to the continuing ethnocentricity of textbooks and their omission of reference to conflicts between groups in Swedish society. Similarly she notes the absence of women from textbooks - except as victims of starvation. She also notes the discrepancy between teachers who teach in schools with many immigrants who are largely positive in their attitudes and others who see themselves as «lucky not to have this problem». In answer to this, she proposes that what is needed is for all students to get a «real view of knowledge» - one that is not at present widely spread either in schools or in textbooks. To this end she gives practical examples of work that can involve students.

Dawn GILL suggests that the notion that an intercultural curriculum is necessarily «a good thing» is one which needs to be seriously questioned. It carries the implicit suggestion that ignorance about cultures is what divides people, and that if we all learn about each other's cultures then the end result will be more harmonious relationships between different groups. It fails to address the issues of economic inequality and power.

Her paper argues that if intercultural education is not simply to preserve the status quo it is necessary for the ideologies of racism, sexism, nationalism and the class structure to become the focus of attention in curriculum design. Like SVINGBY she offers a reconceptualisation of the notion of intercultural education which would concentrate on eliminating divisions between people. In a practical section, she discusses a series of geography lessons which attempt to expose the racist ideology underlying much of geographical education, and to carry students towards a recognition of the global economic forces which affect their lives.

POLITICAL EDUCATION IN CLASSES WITH STUDENTS FROM DIFFERENT CULTURAL AND ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS

Michele BORRELLI and Helmut ESSINGER

1. The societal dynamics of culture encounter «Life in the rootstock (rhizom)»

The encounter of members of different cultures may initiate processes of learning because different cultures impinge on one another. The learning process is fostered by the opening of each culture to the other.

Heinrich DAUBER (1981), an educator, professor of Kassel University, described this receptivity of cultures as the «Life in the rootstock between the root and the trunk» (page 29). This «rhizom» is the link between the roots and the trunk, between the past and the future, between stagnation and process, between isolation and openness. Because it supports an approach to novelty, it is for Dauber the code of human life, which counteracts the retreat into the ghetto of cultural nationalism or the flight from the multicultural society. This is the initiation of a new learning; it is an alternative to «emigration» or «isolation»; it is a learning in the crossing of times and positions, in which the well-known handling of one's own surroundings is connected with the openness for a foreign life, for the dialogue and for the meeting with foreign cultures. This new learning breaks my own nationalism and liberates me for community; that means: so I take part in the manifold process of human life (cf p 33). The living in the «rhizom» has for Dauber the consequence of the right to express one's own experience, to preserve one's own world, while exposing oneself to a strange world and to bring both worlds into a personally meaningful context (cf p 35) (1).

In other words: intercultural education is the answer of pedagogy to issues of intercultural problems in a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. This concept of intercultural learning stands in contradiction to concepts of the bicultural or multicultural education.

Against a bicultural or multicultural education which are ideologically fixed, we plead firstly for a dialogue and encounter which breaks up the provincialness of one's own origin and opens a way to solidarity with ethnic and cultural minorities.

Through this approach we oppose any form of education for foreigners, which harbours the distinction between natives and foreigners. The true meaning of education and learning avoids the prejudice distinction between natives and foreigners and instead concerns itself with human beings from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds. Therefore we plead secondly for a critical education directed towards the human being.

Frequently the objection is raised against such a definition of education that it cannot be practiced in our society. In support of this argument is brought the different role of the women in our society and in the Islamic culture: one cannot uphold both value positions simultaneously. And if one has to choose between one or the other the instruction becomes monocultural.

2. Four principles for an intercultural education

From this definition of an intercultural education we have to derive the contents of the curriculum; in that way one avoids a sliding of intercultural education into folklore. However, those intercultural contents cannot be prescribed by authorities, they must be developed in a dialogue with the people concerned. One can formulate four principles for intercultural education:

2.1 Education for empathy

This means, that we have to learn to understand the other persons, to be able to put ourselves into their place, to see their problems with their eyes and to experience sympathy for them.

I want to explain how these problems present themselves in migration by an example of a statement of a former Turkish worker in Germany. To the question which difficulties she had experienced in Germany, she answered: «For the first time in my life I worked in a factory. I cannot forget my first working day there. I remember, that I was shocked, when I saw all those machines there. Never before I had seen a factory» (ESSINGER 1983, Interview No. 7) (2).

Education for empathy has as its first task to foster the openness of individuals to concern themselves with others, their problems and their being different; to find them sympathetic in order to become oneself sympathetic to others.

2.2 Education for solidarity

In the discussion about learning objectives it has become clear, that solidarity is one such important objective - already in primary schools and kindergartens. Solidarity can be seen in the context of an education to a human society.

How much foreign labourers miss the solidarity, becomes evident from the answer of a former Turkish worker: «In the first year of my stay in Germany I could not become accustomed to life in that country, because I did not know the German language. I had no contacts to my German colleagues. The German workers looked down at me. I noticed by their looks, that they made fun about me. They looked at me like one looks at a pig. They did not see me as a human being. They stopped doing this after I had learned some German. But because I earned more money as a Turkish worker than the German workers, they disliked me and tried various tricks to get rid of me; for example they insulted me without any reason» (ESSINGER 1983, Interview No. 8) (3).

Considering such daily insolidarity the learning of solidarity is of great importance in our society. In the full sense of the word solidarity means that all human beings belong together. The concept solidarity implies an appeal to develop a collective awareness, which transcends the boundaries of groups, states and races; it is also an appeal to reduce social inequality and injustice. Solidarity is the counterpart to rivalry and tyranny. When all human beings, not only in neighbourhoods, but also in far distances hold together, solidarity becomes reality. That is why solidarity is an important objective of mankind (cf RICHTER 1979, page 42) (4).

2.3 Education for intercultural respect

In a society, which lacks respect for cultural differences, this principle is of high value for educators. The progress which disregards history does not know cultural respect: The modern industrial imperialism exploits and destroys as ruthlessly nature as human culture (cf DAUBER 1981, page 31) (5).

A former Turkish worker formulated it thus: «At first the German workers laughed at me. They looked disdainfully at us Turkish women. The reason was the scarf on our head. ... They also laughed at our dressing. Some of my friends wore their gay village-clothes. They also laughed at them. Because of this I did no longer dare to wear my scarf and took it off» (ESSINGER 1983, Interview No. 12) (6).

The recovery of cultural respect is essential for a multiethnic and multicultural society. Cultural respect can be realised through the interdependence of two learning processes: By opening ourselves to the foreign culture we invite others to participate in our own culture (cf DAUBER 1981, page 48) (7).

2.4 Education against nationalistic thinking

To think only in the frontiers of a national state or a national territory are relics of the arsenal of an agrarian oriented thinking (cf. GAMM 1968, page 16)(8). One can find those relics in the saying «Our German Country must be preserved from getting overwhelmed by foreigners!». This behaviour does no longer correspond to the mobility of an industrial society.

A part of another interview can explain this; a former Turkish student said: «Yes, they showed me that I am a miserable Turk and that I do not belong to their society. ... There were some teachers who wanted to help me; but there were also some, who did not like my success (mostly they were teachers older than 50 years) ...

If those two peoples, the German and the Turkish, have to live together, they should get to know each other. Then one can avoid conflicts». To the question, whether he wants to return to Germany, he answered: «No, but if I should go to Germany once again, then only with the guns and weapons of the army of the third world. Especially since I have heard, how the Germans and their government behave towards the Turks there. There are no reasons or excuses for such a behaviour - neither economic nor social-politic» (ESSINGER 1983, Interview No. 1) (9).

This last answer leads to the borders of the thinking in the frontiers of a national state; it is the answer to an ideology of blood and earth, which expresses itself under the cover of repatriation or assimilation of migrants (cf BORRELLI 1984) (10). Against this misbehaviour education has to destroy prejudices and to enable different peoples to an open dialogue and to communication with each other.

3. Consequences for political education

There is no special education for foreigners; and there is also no special political education for foreign students. All education has to centre around the HUMANUM, for the central category of education is the human being. From this central category a lot of further categories of the historic reality can be defined, which all together are important for a political education.

These are the categories:

3.1 Economy

Object of the analysis is the political economy of migration.

3.2 Politics

This category will help the human beings, who are captured in their thinking in the institutionalised power to recognise the interdependence of power and institutions.

3.3 Social

This category will address the societal structures and their relationship to power.

3.4 Ideology

This category will address the conditions of power-structures and their legitimising prerequisites.

3.5 History

This category will concern itself with the preconditions of established power and its historical legitimation; that means: it will also ask for the changeableness of institutionalised power.

3.6 Humanity

This category will address possibilities to destroy all unnecessary power of people over people of all areas of social life. These are the themes of the category humanity to be reflected: suppression, discrimination, exploitation of human beings by human beings; using this category there exists the hope, that recognising and understanding the inhuman and anti-social behaviour, the ideological as well as physical enslavement of marginal groups and lower classes, still existing in our thinking or actions, may lead to a change of awareness in the sense of more human sensibility and solidarity.

3.7 Human dignity

Political education

- has to come to grips with every kind of racist thinking and racist behaviour;
- in a dialogue which will aim at the understanding, that everyone needs respect more than tolerance as a condition of his dignity;
- will aim at equality as a basis, which cannot be given up: this category addresses the dividing up of peoples into or by nations and it concerns itself with the ideologies and demagogueries at their basis;

- has the right and the duty, to regain humanity in our world, not to destroy psychologically or physically human beings because of their colour, clothing (eg scarfs!), language or manners;

- will not stop at a mere analysis of racist ideologies and demagogueries of many politicians and journalists; political education will ask why it is possible, that men can be publicly stigmatised and vilified as being unable as well as unwilling to integrate in the society;

- will look for the loss of humanity and will make this fact to the object reflecting: The educational task of all political education is the quest for humanity. That is why political education will fight with the weapons of criticism against all kinds of demagoguery, especially fascistic demagoguery and racist thinking.

4. Consequences for the election of contents concerning political education: canon of priorities and political-pedagogical tasks

4.1 From the category «Economy» the following themes can be derived:

- the political economy of migration;

- the causes of migration;

- reasons for recruitment and employment of workforces;

- the consequences of migration for the people concerned, for the emigration- and immigration-countries;

- the economic structure of different countries (eg emigration countries; industrial nations) in connection with a global economic analysis.

Political-pedagogical task:

Understanding of economic interrelations: What are the consequences of economic concentration and power for the people concerned?

4.2 From the category «Politics» the following themes can be derived:

- analysis of political systems;

- analysis of institutions and forms of government;

- comparison between political structures and institutions in emigration- and immigration-countries.

Political-pedagogical task: Insight into political systems.

4.3 From the category «social» the following themes can be derived:

- social equality and inequality;
- structures, social classes;
- comparison between social organisations of emigrant- and immigrant-countries.

Political-pedagogical task: Insight into societal interrelations: what are the consequences of social organisations, formations, structures and institutionalised power for the people?

4.4 From the category «ideological» the following themes can be derived:

- comparison between legitimations of power of different political and economical systems;
- comparison between dominant values (religious/forms of socialisation/systems of education).

Political-pedagogical task: Insight into structures of power and of those ideologies, demagogueries, theories, which legitimate them.

4.5 From the category «historical» the following themes can be derived:

- rise and change of economic and political systems;
- comparison between the political structures of emigrant- and immigrant-countries and their historic prerequisites and preconditions.

Political-pedagogical task: Insight into institutionalised power: understanding of the process, changeableness, alteration of institutions, structures and conditions of power.

4.6 From the category «human dignity» the following themes can be derived:

- racism;
- fascism;
- inequality.

Political-pedagogical task: Insight into ideologies, structures and systems of slavery, discrimination and extermination of people: what are the consequences of inhuman ideologies, institutions, structures, behaviours for the people concerned?

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FORTY YEARS AT THE METROPOLIS

RACE RELATIONS AND THE SCHOOLS REVISITED

Nigel FILE

One of the main concerns of the study of history has been defined as understanding change and continuity. Not all linear change, it is suggested, is for the better and not all continuity is necessarily sterile. It is possible to consider the phenomenon of interculturalism in education in Britain over a period of forty years as a result of the activity represented by an early civil rights group working in Britain, the League of Coloured Peoples. It was a black directed organisation which concerned itself with racism in Britain and with issues of colonialism in and beyond the British Empire. One legacy was a report it commissioned at some stage of World War II which was entitled, «Race Relations and the Schools - A Survey of the Colour Question in some Aspects of English Education with a number of Proposals and Suggestions» (1).

Despite the colonial framework of the times, many of the themes which the book took up are still of pressing concern in the education system. In taking aspects of the report as a major part of this discourse, I would suggest that it gets to the heart of assumptions and practices in history pedagogy and that it highlights the continuities rather than the changes which it simply and eloquently sought forty years ago. The report, and the League of Coloured Peoples itself, lacked an analysis of racism which such bodies as the Institute of Race Relations in the 1960s and 1970s have been able to articulate. The implications for teaching history in a situation of institutional racism will be taken up.

In both the general and specific sense it can be positively stated that the subject of Coloured Peoples is virtually disregarded in most of the history books, and that the extent to which non-European history, institutions and affairs are described and discussed is almost negligible (2).

The phenomenon of invisibility has not changed. In the devolved English and Welsh education system it is difficult to be certain how far the statement would be valid in 1984. The prestigious national curriculum development in history, the Schools Council, History 13-16 Project, could be described in the above terms. The author, on investigating the extent to which the English and Welsh examination system at age 16 contributed to the development of intercultural education through the study of history in analysing 120 official history syllabuses suggested:

The most outstanding aspect to emerge from the review of current syllabuses is that, in a significant majority, non-European cultures do not feature. About two-thirds of the syllabuses cover British and European History, and only one-third look beyond Europe - and many of these contain a good deal of European history. The message is clear: what the examining boards choose to examine and, therefore define as important, is European culture (3).

The history of India is dealt with at some length in some cases, and a few books even provide an account of pre-European India ... This does not apply to other non-European countries of the Empire. Mention of their pre-European inhabitants is strictly within the context of British and European development and is limited in this way almost exclusively in the case of countries in Africa, Australasia and America. With very few exceptions the light is entirely on the roles of European administrators, politicians, statesmen, soldiers, settlers and missionaires ...(4).

We might understand the above criticisms as the textbook referred to was probably published in the 1930s. A cursory review of recent British textbooks reveals little change. Thus, a text by Martell informs us that, «The Dutch, who first settled on the southern shores of Africa ... arrived there in the seventeenth century, later the British joined them.» We are told nothing of «The Blacks of South Africa», other than that, «The rest of the population was considered inferior. The black inhabitants consisting of a number of different peoples, were the most numerous groups in South Africa.»

In a section entitled, «Britain's Empire Overseas», in a text by EDWARDS and BEARMAN we find the bald statement, «The first settlements in Australia were of convicts and their guards» (6). Failure to identify the original inhabitants of an area and to consider the impact of European expansion in terms of those inhabitants is a hallmark of ethnocentric history.

Perhaps the first and most general impression gained is of a somewhat subjective form of presentation in the narrative. This comment has reference ... to the more or less tacit assumption of European or Western civilisation standards of value or judgement (7).

The question of the extent to which colonialism brought qualitative or quantitative change in the world is a matter of selection and evaluation of evidence, and will be referred to later. Similarly, the motives of colonial officials as they saw them is a matter of interpretation and validity of evidence. Comments such as these represent a continuity which requires unpacking.

In these books, there is constant and practically universal misuse of the terms «Race» and «Racial» ... As people are prevalently and popularly described in terms of certain temperamental qualities through the confusion of cultural with biological terminology.

The practice of using the terms «Native» and «Natives» is very frequent, and is also a common practice outside history books ... To the ordinary man, the term betokens, and indeed is often used as a synonym for «non-civilised» (8).

Thus, we have PEACOCK's assertion that, «The Berlin Conference ... had attempted to work out a code of fair trading practices and treatment of the natives.» EDWARDS and BEARMAN referring to «Tunisian tribesmen», «fierce resistance of Arab tribes», «The Maoris were warlike, well-organised and resentful of the rapid seizure by Europeans by tribal lands» and, of conflict in South Africa, «It also brought responsibility for governing primitive Bushmen, the fierce Bantu tribes pushing South in search of land, and the stubbornly independent Boers who could often trace their descent from the earliest Dutch and German settlers of the seventeenth century.» (10).

The Committee ... felt that it was invidious to look for a more adequate and accurate understanding of Coloured Peoples, and indeed, of the whole problem of race relations, unless more space, both in textbooks and in actual teaching, could be found for such matters.

First, in place of «British History» would it be possible to teach the «History of the British Empire?». If so, would it be possible to treat the Empire as an integral whole in which the history of Britain, though an extremely important element, would not be regarded as more than a part of the whole? A second alternative would be to treat in terms of «World History», with the history of Britain or of the British Empire reserved for, or regarded as, a special or optional consideration ... Should India, for example, be discussed in relation to Great Britain, with special emphasis on the last two hundred years, or should India be put in perspective as a country which has a long history of civilisation dating from centuries before Julius Caesar's raid on the Kentish coast? There would seem to be certain advantages in both suggestions.

In short, the main principles of both the original «British Empire» and «World History» suggestions have been adopted, with the omission of specific attention to the history of this country ... Four alternatives are proposed, viz:

1.	World History Outline	700-400 BC
	Special Area	China or India or Greece, or the Jews.
2.	World History Outline	600-1000 AD
	Special Area	Asia and Africa, or China, or India or Islam.
3.	World History Outline	1600-1763 AD
	Special Area	India, or North America and West Indies, or Central and South America
4.	World History Outline	1815-1931 AD
	Special Area	West Africa and Congo, or China and Japan, or India, or Australasis and the Pacific. (11)

The topics suggested would be radical in Britain today. They are areas for current debate rather than past history. The vision was there. It is not a complete answer to racism or to today's pedagogy but it would have been a different world, literally in terms of British pupils historical experiences (as well as in the many parts of the world that took their lead from Britain) if these suggestions, and those for university and teacher training courses, and informal education, and teacher interchange, had been taken up after World War II.

Current good practice in terms of content and analysis

There is much going on in Britain to promote intercultural education and possibly anti-racist approaches. A recent meeting of Inner-London and Haringey history teachers, sponsored by the ILEA Anti-Racist team, brought together a variety of curricula and methods in secondary education.

School 1

A patch on colonialism and imperialism for first year pupils. Emphasis on the Irish in Southwark (London Borough) and images of the Empire reflected in the everyday life of Londoners. Case study of Zimbabwe. Examination of traditional cultural assumptions in textbooks and in TV series (eg the «Merrie England» in Robin Hood).

School 2

World Studies examination core for 4th and 5th year pupils. Case study of Brazil. Examination of the origins of the world economy. Examination of wealth from sugar industry leading to investment in Britain's industrialisation. Case study of the cotton industry in Lancashire, the need for raw materials and the destruction of the cotton industry of India. Examples of a strategic colony - India, and a settler colony - Australia. Examples of resistance - India and trade unions in Britain. Issues in North/South trade/aid debate. Local study of London's East End, migration and settlement - the Irish, the Jews, the Bengalis; industrialisation and deindustrialisation of London's docklands.

School 3

Integrated study in the first year: Our Community, Our People and Our World, including a local study, forgotten history, women, Haringey (London Borough) and the wider world. Year 2, The People Who Came - settlement of Britain. Slavery and Freedom, including the Irish in the West Indies, different forms of slavery, women. Study of the Roman world and the Americas. Island studies, Cyprus, Japan, Sri Lanka and Jamaica. Year 3, Britain's industrialisation.

School 4

Integrated studies, first year: Examination of concepts, interdependence, conflict, change, protest, resistance, oppression and empire. Hackney (London Borough) and the world, particularly in the context of unemployment.

School 5

Local studies, using oral evidence. Middle Ages of Europe and Islam. Voyages of Discovery in context of Spanish Conquest of South America. Tudor England, North America, Industrialisation and resistance, Imperialism and resistance, analysis of racism in problem solving context, Jewish experience and Battle of Cable Street, World since 1945.

School 6

Years 1 and 2, People Who Came, examination of settlement from economic and cultural viewpoint, including racist ideology. Years 2 and 3, World History, circa 1400 examination of six key areas of world before era of European contact, emphasising essence of society in socio-historical terms. Examination of Contact - how areas of the world lost their independence and became European dominated, avoiding a Eurocentric interpretation. Industrialisation of Britain. Years 4 and 5, Twentieth Century World History, including development of Facism in Britain, space for a personal study and the role of «colonial peoples» in the two world wars.

This gives a flavour of the issues being confronted and the perspectives which are being introduced to pupils in an effort to get them to have some idea of the forces that have shaped the world we live in and, I would suggest, which give an optimistic Praxis based outlook, which stresses that the shaping is in the hands of individuals whose collective action creates the present and can affect the future. These approaches reflect present concerns in European and World society and use History instrumentally to see if the experience of the past can illuminate the present and help people reflect critically on the situation in which they find themselves. Criticism could be levelled at this approach in that it does not go far enough. That the missing element is some sort of political literacy, the ability to act on the «lessons of history», however these have been interpreted. That critical reflection is not enough. There could be criticism that in an attempt to address so many of the issues and problems of our time the content gets in the way of methodology so that pupils do not, in fact, learn to reflect critically. It is to this last point that we must now turn.

Born again history

A new tradition of history pedagogics has grown up in Britain in the last fifteen years. Its importance lies not only in its national nature in a country where the devolved curriculum has been the norm but also in the fact that its methodology received widespread support as the way forward in Europe (12). It is known as the Schools Council History 13-16 Project and is one of the permanent legacies of the body which was recognised as a genuinely teacher dominated forum for curriculum and examinations development, and which was closed down by the present Conservative Government in favour of two government nominated bodies for curriculum and examinations.

The curriculum objectives for History 13-16 were:

a. to examine the role of history in an era of curriculum change;

b. to revitalise history teaching in schools by giving institutional support to what seemed to be the best aspects of current practice;

c. to encourage pupil participation in learning;

d. to investigate ways of assessing understanding rather than rote-learning in public examinations (13).

History, from the beginning was seen as an inherent good, although it was supported that to be relevant, school history must answer the personal and social needs of

adolescents and that historical knowledge must be grounded in reason. History was to be both useful and necessary because it provided cognitive skills, such as analysis, synthesis and judgement; was a source of leisure interests; was a vehicle for analysing the contemporary world and the place of the adolescent in it; could provide understanding of the forces underlying social change and evolution; and was an avenue to self-knowledge and human awareness (14).

The crucial lessons of history were that, «while society can always be changed, there are limits to what it can be changed into - at least within a finite timespan. It is equally vital for them to grasp that progress in human affairs demands continuity as well as change. Likewise, if they are to act with reason and circumspection, they must realise that the way people see and judge things is conditioned by the society in which they live. Perhaps most important, however, is the realisation that the social world, with all its problems and imperfections, is the outcome of the unintended as well as the intended consequences of action, of the idealism and good intentions as well as the cynicism and self-interest of their teachers, parents, grandparents and forebears.» (15).

Just what the personal needs of adolescents are is not really gone into. Acting with circumspection, which can mean either with caution or taking everything into account, the upholding of necessary continuities, unspecified, and the view that life is a lottery in the interplay of intended and unintended consequences, do not necessarily lead people to view themselves as active shapers of the future.

Relevance is thrown away. SHEMILT suggests that even if teachers «collectively agree to present an outline of western history, there is no very convincing argument why the school leaver should go away with a seven year old's conception of the Anglo-Saxons and a sixteen year old's understanding of Adolf Hitler, rather than vice-versa» (16). Why should teachers agree to present western history? The assertion that a mature understanding of the phenomenon of Fascism in the twentieth century is no more important than an understanding of the Anglo-Saxons is amazing. The spectre of Fascism is a critical dimension in any analysis of racism and I would suggest that any society and any group of students need awareness of it to defend the real societies in which they live from the re-emergence of Facism and in order for people to have the opportunity to build a more just society, based on reflection on real historical events and the way individuals and groups responded in those situations. Part of this must be an emotional response, I

have not been to Auschwitz or Dresden but I have been to the Ann Frank House and Coventry old cathedral, and they are convincing arguments to me. The Project's thinking on the issue of relevance is made clear a few sentences later, «Furthermore, even if knowledge of some historical content is thought worthwhile, it is not easy for the history teacher to explain why this content is best transmitted as a separate and distinct subject area» (17). The key to History 13-16 is in being able to prove that it is a distinct, important discipline which must remain intact on the secondary school curriculum. The field of knowledge must be defended otherwise it will be the end of History as we know it.

This claim is not mere speculation. The values of this approach to History pedagogy are made explicit: If teachers accept, first that History should contribute to adolescent's understanding of their humanity, culture and society; and second, if they admit the desirability of teaching for rational knowledge not agglomerated belief (however «true» and however useful), then the ultimate justification for teaching History at the secondary level reduces to the imperative to induct adolescents into one of the principal and most commonly used ways of making sense of experience intrinsic to western culture (18).

What is irrational knowledge? And what is «true» agglomerated belief? Is History intrinsic only to western culture? Whose culture are we talking about given Britain's current adolescent population? How does this square with the view that western culture is the repository of racism and that historians are explicitly implicated in the generation of racist ideology? (19). This draws us into the area of institutional racism. It can be argued that the education system, as with other sectors, perpetuate the racist society through the institutions and forms of knowledge which they promote (20). An explicit anti-racist stance in any sector of the education system would place the group taking it into an oppositional position. This would be true of the six school approaches to teaching History outlined above and to the criticisms and proposals made by the League of Coloured Peoples. This is not the case with Schools Council History 13-16. Indeed, in identifying with the «forms of knowledge» school it seems to be placing itself firmly with those institutions which have generated and perpetuate racist ideology.

Suggestions and meeting points

Forty years of history pedagogics in Britain have contributed little to the concerns of non-white peoples resident in the population, or to the education of Britain's population to appreciate issues in the wider world. The

pleas of forty years ago, whilst reflecting the positions and concerns of the time, have a worrying freshness in them. The Eurocentric bias within history teaching is still evident. The disregard of non-western culture and the failure to put the development of Europe into an economic and social perspective which relates it to the rest of the world, the invisibility factor, still has to be resolved.

The perpetuation of racist ideas and assumptions in commonly used teaching materials remains a stain on the publishing profession and on the attitudes of the consumers, the history teachers. Suggestions for syllabus reform, examination changes and reform of university courses have been ignored for forty years and any change in this direction is regarded as radical - surely a reflection of institutional racism and a perpetual slur on the black British and the ideals of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Space for good practice at the level of individual schools and local education authorities is possible. Often the resourcing and development of these courses occurs outside the mainstream system of History pedagogics. The major reform in history teaching, History 13-16, does not address itself directly to these issues. The project has not developed the promised unit on South Africa which would have allowed many of the concerns expressed in this article to come through. The trial materials have become the permanent source of materials so that feedback from teachers and further development have not become possible. Schools developing their own approaches are often isolated and lack the institutional backup which the Project schools have received. Professional historians must lose something of their defensiveness. If the only way they can protect their subject is in stressing its «form of knowledge» status, their days will be numbered. This form of knowledge which has made most of the world invisible for most of humankind's history, which has turned over half of humanity into a minority group, which ignores the dispossessed and the oppressed has a lot to answer for. History 13-16, in an invigorated form, and addressing the competing demands of a perspectives approach to real issues and an evidence based appreciation of the methodology of history, would make a penetrating and pertinent study which could make an impact on the intercultural classroom and the pressing issues of racism and global inequality.

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INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION AND HISTORY TEACHING

Ronald DONK

Introduction

Before writing down my ideas regarding historical aspects and criteria for intercultural education I would like to make some remarks about the development of the Dutch society towards a multi-ethnic and multicultural society, about the crisis of the «second generation» students and also about the critical situation of history itself as a subject in secondary schools.

The Netherlands has known a continuing influx of «strangers» since the sixteenth century. The immigrants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like for instance the protestants from the Southern Netherlands, the Sefardic Jews and the French Huguenots, adapted themselves to the Dutch way of life in the urban centres of Holland and were accepted by the Dutch citizens during these remarkable years of an expanding economy in the so-called «golden age».

These positive experiences of assimilation with foreigners created a myth in the collective memory of the Dutch. They imagined their country was a very tolerant and welcoming society for strangers, contrary to other nations. This idea was much reinforced in the 1950s on account of the arrival of nearly 350,000 immigrants from the former Dutch colony in the East Indies. The favourable social and economic situation, but especially the eagerness of these light-coloured Dutch passport holders to become true-blue Dutchmen, stimulated assimilation. Of course the Dutch government and the Dutch people were happy with this spontaneous one-sided adaptation because it caused few problems. The belief that the Dutch society had a certain amount of flexibility and was able to absorb a great many strangers without any real disruptions was consolidated.

That the Dutch people were blinded by this myth is confirmed by their attitude towards all subsequent newcomers during the years 1950-1980. The immigrants who came in this period were the Moluccans (1951) from the East Indies and Surinamese people of various ethnic origins who arrived before 1975 as a result of a lack of confidence in the fledgeling Republic of Surinam. Both the Moluccans and Surinames enjoy a special status and facilities because they were born in former Dutch colonies.

The workers from the Mediterranean form the second group of immigrants within the Dutch society. They came in the 60s and 70s when there was a great demand for unskilled workers. All these immigrants who arrived in the above-mentioned period were supposed to stay temporary but

political, social and economic conditions in their home-countries or in the Netherlands resulted in the settlement of the majority of these migrant families.

With the more or less permanent stay of these foreigners the Dutch society became a plural society, John S FURNIVALL (1939) defined this concept as follows: «a society comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit». Each group has and holds its own language, way of life and culture. Their contact is restricted to an institutional level and mainly determined by economic issues.

The idea of a plural society is conflicting with the still existing Dutch traditional myth of assimilation. This myth forms a hindrance to open-mindedness and genuine respect for and interest in the cultures of the foreigners in today's Dutch society. Perhaps this explains mainly why people know so little of the cultures they colonised and show so little interest in other non-European nations. Naturally there are many good exceptions among the Dutch people but in general the old colonial saying «let them come to us and adapt themselves» is still an important feature in the thoughts of many well-educated as well as working-class inhabitants of this country. An ethnocentric view typical of feelings of superiority of a highly industrialised western country.

In such a situation, conflicts between the dominant culture and the cultural minorities are not surprising. Especially the second generation of migrant children is faced with many problems. Properly speaking, they neither belong to the dominant nor to the minority culture. In this crisis situation they enter our schools.

Last, but not least, I would point out my commitment to minorities in the Netherlands: based as it is on my emotional feelings as a member of two of the minorities, namely the Antilleans and Surinamese. In my opinion a cultural minority should keep its own language and culture in order to survive and emancipate as a group in the dominant society. Emancipation does not mean isolation and segregation but acculturation of all cultures into a multicultural society and social and economic progress as minority groups or individuals.

Objectives of history teaching and intercultural education

A complex matter as intercultural education undoubtedly is, needs large scale attention of history teachers. In this paper I purposely neglect many aspects of an inter-cultural approach of history teaching. Nor are there

remarks and suggestions concerning sources, material, ways of instruction and micro-teaching. The emphasis is put on objectives and historical topics for classroom studies. History curricula for secondary schools were a meagre reflection of the university programmes and as a matter of fact they partly still are. They are not child centered and are too far away from the daily problems in society. In spite of many positive changes in the sixties and seventies concerning textbooks, methods and more contemporary programmes a structural change in the approaches to the past and the teaching methods did not occur. A western and ethnocentric approach still dominates in most textbooks and schools. There were only marginal changes in history teaching. On this account there was and still is much criticism on the irrelevance of this subject which is too traditional for a volatile society that is much more interested in technology, mathematics, computers and so on. The latter are seen by educational planners, some politicians, parents and even the pupils themselves as necessary equipment for the future «chip era». Humanities, geography and history are looked upon as a waste of time, not essential for modern, rational people and not required for future studies.

The danger that history teaching will be banned from the timetables in secondary schools is real. In my opinion this would be a crucial mistake because particularly in the field of intercultural education history teaching should play an essential role to prepare young adolescents for participation in a democratic multicultural society.

The main object of intercultural education as an integral part of all education is to inform all pupils in the Dutch society of the variety of cultures and to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes for them to participate on an equal basis in today's world and tomorrow's. This objective, however, has far-reaching consequences. It implies that majority and minorities have equal rights and opportunities in education, and in the employment market. In this respect the school as an institution is powerless, because such an equality cries for national political decisions. The school can only try to lay the groundworks of positive feelings and attitudes towards acculturation and the building of a multicultural community.

Each school subject should innovate as to programmes and material in an intercultural way. History teachers ought to reject a clean, neutral approach in their courses. Otherwise they will stay «colourblind» to the racial and cultural problems of their own society and which some of their pupils live in. They must strive after obtaining knowledge of the minority cultures and be motivated to analyse their own ethnocentric feelings, thoughts and

behaviour. The majority of them have a deeply rooted hope that the cultural minorities will assimilate.

History is engaged in persons, groups and cultures in the past. It ought to enable people to identify themselves with and have respect for others. It can stimulate pupils to seek their roots in their past culture and in this way might encourage them to develop a positive self-image.

Thus applied history teaching is, par excellence, intercultural and will teach pupils the relativity of their own standards, values and culture and will develop respect and a critical attitude to any culture. I am personally much influenced by the general objectives formulated by the German historian KOCKA (1977). In trying to reach these objectives the pupils get information, learn skills and hopefully develop positive values and attitudes. I have tried to clarify each objective by giving examples for an intercultural approach in history courses.

The study of history and history teaching are essential and relevant to:

1. Understand and explain contemporary phenomena

Members of minority groups are discriminated in our society. How is this to be explained? Is there a clear relationship between eg an economic recession and increasing racism? Teaching about the topic of anti-Semitism and economic recession in the Dutch society in the nineteen-twenties and thirties will inform pupils better about majority/minority problems, the existence of stereotypes and the relationship between socio-economic factors and racism. It might even destroy the long lasting myth that this society has always been tolerant to minorities in its history. Another topic could be based on the concept of emancipation in Dutch history. In the beginning of the Eighty Years' War a militant calvinist minority seized the power and began to oppress and discriminate the catholic minority. This institutional and practical discrimination lasted until the nineteenth century.

In the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century the emancipation of the catholics and lower middle class calvinists took place. The emancipation of non-privileged groups in the Dutch history forms a key issue of current interest for cultural minorities. This issue contains a variety of minority/majority aspects such as dominant culture, discrimination, polarisation, cultural and religious pluralism etc.

2. Give us insights into our present society and world

A key question in the Dutch immigration history is why the large amount of Indonesian Dutch integrated and the tiny minority group of Moluccans did not. In the first case a smooth assimilation and in the second one a resolute no to assimilation which led to tensions and escalated in militant actions by Moluccan youngsters in the seventies. They felt neglected, and perhaps even betrayed, by successive Dutch governments. Through these actions they demanded the attention of the world for their problems and political ideals.

By teaching about this subject with the help of many primary sources, the pupils could look into this matter in order to compare the migration of both groups; the manner in which they were welcomed and accepted; the willingness to assimilate or the refusal to integrate in the dominant culture. Such an approach will explain much of the current situation of the Moluccans in our society and creates opportunities to discuss concepts like assimilation, integration, adaptation, acculturation, dominant culture, emancipation and preservation of one's own identity and culture. From a perspective of world history, insights into the muslim world will clarify much of a state like Saudi Arabia and explain some of the tensions between the tradition of Islam and the modernisation of certain centres in that country. It can also illustrate that muslim belief is no real hindrance to economic development.

3. Make us aware of the role of tradition in our society

Intercultural education should help the pupils of the minorities and the majority to find their way in a democratic society influenced by traditions. Think only of the monarchy and the respect for the House of Orange, the many different religions, the political party system, respect for democratic procedures, emphasis on individual freedom etc.

Without really knowing their (new) society, especially the children of minority cultures will go on being dependent on others and cannot develop towards emancipation as a group within the system.

4. Make us conscious of change and the factors which cause changes

By studying the industrialisation and modernisation process in England and the Netherlands pupils learn much about the causes, circumstances and technical, political, social economic and cultural consequences of a society in transition. However do not restrict the industrialisation process to the western world because pupils will identify modernisation as western and this can stimulate stereotyped ideas. Refer to

the development of Japan, the Gulf States and for instance the start of modernisation in Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The industrialisation process can easily be combined with development education.

5. Broaden our insights in human beings by studying the behaviour of historical individuals and groups

Discrimination, stereotyping, assimilations, culture contacts, acculturation, contacts and clashes of cultures all concern feelings, thoughts and actions of individuals or groups. By putting other questions to historicial themes an anthropological and sociological approach in history teaching lies within reach.

In this respect a course on Mohammed and Islam can be enlightening and teach the pupils much of the origins of muslim belief, the spreading of Islam in a nomadic and agricultural world, the charismatic influence of Mohammed as a prophet of Allah on the muslim believers.

6. Make us aware of the fact that we should not generalise too fast

People are not perfect. They are accustomed to drawing conclusions before analysing a situation or event thoroughly. Through history teaching pupils should learn to see the relativity of their own customs, ideas and opinions. This objective is very basic so as to avoid superficial generalisations.

A well-known generalisation is that the unequal position of women and the aggressiveness in the Arab world is inherent to Islam. History teachers can tackle this generalisation by reading Koran verses on these topics and compare the position of women in the urban and rural regions of Turkey and Morocco. Concerning the stereotype that Arab people are more aggressive, a comparison with the history of western nations will supply evidence that muslim states throughout history were by no means more war-minded than the so-called civilised and christian states.

Other historical topics for intercultural education

In history courses history teachers teach about the story of western mankind from the prehistory until the present. This chronological outline is seen as necessary to explain changes, development and continuity in history. I wonder whether such an aim can be realised effectively with secondary school pupils from 12 to 15 years old. Especially when the emphasis is put on abstract political and institutional developments. Teaching outlines have little relevance for today's youth and society. To what purpose should pupils study facts and events of so many different countries in ancient, medieval and modern times?

In my opinion, history teaching should be concerned with different types of societies and the stages of development within such societies. In history we can generally distinguish between pre-agricultural, agricultural and industrial societies. When we teach about the origins of the Islam we ought to do this in the context of a nomadic and agricultural society with some urban markets like Mekka and Medina. In this way the characteristics, culture and mentality of the muslim world can be clarified more. Topics and themes should be relevant today. For instance I would rather teach about Mohammed and the Islam than about the many popes, kings and battles.

If possible, history courses should be centred around themes in different kinds of societies on local, national and world scale. Themes like emanicipation, working class conditions, the position of women and strangers, sport and society, sacred places and so on can easily be adapted as to space and time.

I suggest the following topics or themes with inter-cultural aspects:

1. Are minorities the new proletarians in our society?

An extensive comparison of the living and working conditions of labourers in the nineteenth century in the western world and today's position of migrant workers.

2. The people who came into our cities and our country.

3. Majority/minority problems in history.

4. Surinam and Indonesia before, during and after the Dutch colonisation.

Put emphasis on cultures, effects of colonialism, the search for independence, the struggle to develop, the building of nations.

5. Turkey and Morocco as developing states.

Concentrate on agricultural and industrial developments, the leap to modernisation, the particular form of islam, majority/minority problems and the migration to western countries in the context of metropolitan and satelite states in the world economy.

6. History around us.

There is a wealth of visual and non-visual history material in our neighbourhood: buildings, streets, landscapes, customs, languages, cultures etc.

Conclusions

1. The majority of the Dutch people still feel in their heart of hearts that minority cultures should and could assimilate in their own dominant culture. These feelings are rooted in western ethnocentrism and in all probability, unconscious feeling of superiority.

2. An intercultural approach in history teaching requires a structural change in methods, themes, material and the approach and behaviour of teachers to other cultures. Such a structural innovation will increase the relevance of this subject.

3. The main objectives of intercultural education can particularly be realised by history teaching.

4. There are some key topics, themes and concepts which must not be avoided in history teaching that aspires to be intercultural.

5. Good history teaching with well-chosen intercultural criteria is also an introduction into development education and peace problems.

6. Intercultural objectives in history teaching are reached when pupils of all cultures have the possibilities and opportunities to identify themselves with the material, can achieve a positive self-image and develop knowledge, skills and attitudes for a multicultural society.

AN INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM IN SOCIAL STUDIES - SOME NOTES AND EXAMPLES

Gunilla SVINGBY

Sweden is an immigrant country. It is more doubtful whether it also is a multicultural society. The official policy is clearly to promote this goal through intercultural education. Thus in 1983 a governmental committee presented its recommendations on «Education for Linguistic and Cultural Multiplicity» (1). A central theme in this paper is that it is not enough to give the immigrants better chances to learn the dominant Swedish culture but a vital goal to educate the majority of the people into a better knowledge and acceptance of immigrant cultures.

The committee thus concludes: «What is needed is an adjustment in the majority of the people in order to let the immigrants become fully accepted as members of the society, so that an intercultural community develops.» (2).

The national Swedish curriculum guidelines for the comprehensive school (3) lay stress on democratic values which among others means tolerance towards different cultural expression and the acceptance of the right of every child to use his or her experiences in the school. International contacts and minority groups inside Sweden are especially mentioned in this context. The curriculum guidelines state in the first section: «International contacts play a growing role. It is necessary to work with material that help the pupils understand the dependency of our society on other countries and thus the importance of international contacts and co-operation. Social studies, arts and music as well as literature thereby play an important role. Pupils of minority groups can, together with their parents, become valuable resources in the efforts to teach pupils to understand the culture of other countries. It is the task of the comprehensive school to foster solidarity towards other countries, people and cultures. It is also the task of the school to foster an understanding of and solidarity with minority groups in our own country. The school has to make active efforts to make the pupils understand the problems of the developing countries and our dependency on these countries».

On a general level the guidelines thus lay great stress on a non-ethnocentric and intercultural education. As part of the democratic education this should especially characterise «social studies» (4). On the more concrete levels the perspective is, however less obvious.

A recent questionnaire (5) showed that schools to a great extent did nothing especial to foster understanding and solidarity towards minority groups. Many schools were «lucky not to have this problem.» The schools who reported some activities were those that had large proportions of immigrant children and thus felt forced to do something. What was done was mainly «cultural happenings» with dances, food. Intercultural education was largely seen as «a problem of minority groups» and not as a task for the whole educational situation. There was, however, according to another study a positive interest among teachers and pupils in schools that have many immigrants to learn more about these cultures. A problem is, however, how to make an intercultural curriculum.

Textbooks

Textbooks have a central role in determining to a large extent the content of education. It is thus of importance what material is included in textbooks and how matter about other cultures and immigration is treated. To what extent do they prepare for an intercultural education?

A widely used textbook on social studies starts the description of the actual Swedish society with a section on Swedish culture. It goes: (6)

«'Our people' ... The wedes belong to the germanic line of the indo-European race ... In our time this type could nowhere be found more pure than in the nordic countries ... Across the European continent foreign hordes of people have rolled on and the result is a mixture of people and races. But the Scandinavians ... were spared.»

This is of course no longer used as a textbook (7). It ought not to be representative of the view on other cultures. However a number of textbooks on «social studies» (8) have been analysed. In one study from 1969 (9) the authors found a stereotyped description of the third world whereas the western countries were positively described. Ten years later (10) there were some changes for the better but the text still did not present much of the relations that are needed to make the world understandable. The world largely appeared as not understandable. A study by OLSSON of how different cultures are described in geography textbooks is of a certain interest. OLSSON compares textbooks from 1876 to 1980. Although there are big differences over time the books have some ethnocentric traits in common. Specific nations are located on a certain developmental level. The highly technological western societies are on top and the countries with mainly primary production are at the bottom. To develop is, according to the books, to climb a ladder (see Figure 1). This applies to culture as well, that is from noncivilised to civilised.

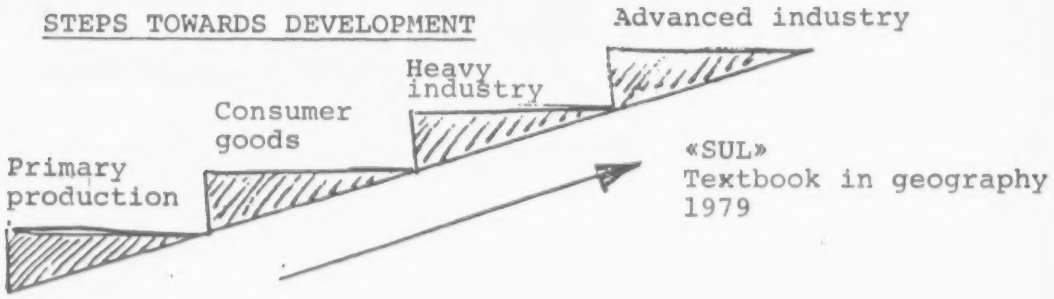


FIGURE 1

Christianity, democracy, order, uniformity and technology are important criteria of culture, according to the books. All these apply mainly to western societies. The books thus have a very narrow definition of culture. Important parts of life are not taken into account at all, which means that women and children are largely absent in the description of developing countries, if not as victims of starvation. Western countries are described by big and complicated industries and imposing buildings whereas developing countries are characterised by its poor children. Other recent studies (11) confirm the picture, which means that in the books:

- the developing countries are described from an ethnocentric point of view;
- they are described as hopelessly poor and less civilised;
- development means to reach to the industrial and cultural level of the western countries;
- the main reason for underdevelopment lies with these countries themselves.

Also quantitatively the western societies are «on top» in the books. The leading textbook system has about 1500 pages. Of these 250 deal with the third world.

Textbooks deal with cultural relations in two ways. Firstly, they describe «we and the world» in the way I have summed up above. They also, secondly, treat the fact that there are different cultures inside our own country. There is, however, very little material in the books on immigration, the situation of the immigrants in Sweden, and the relations between the majority and the ethnic minorities. A study (12) shows that material that deals with ethnic conflicts, prejudice and discrimination are totally absent. This is also true about more deep-going analyses about the causes of migration and historic comparisons with European periods of emigration. To sum up, the textbooks in social studies do not devote much space to the multicultural dimension of the Swedish society and they treat «the third world» in a mainly ethno-

centric way. Compared over time, the most obvious expressions of cultural prejudice are gone, but the tendency to use only «western glasses» is still there. Systematic and far reaching efforts to take another point of departure - more in line with the guidelines - are rare.

Teachers and pupils

Teachers in school with a large proportion of immigrant children express a largely positive attitude towards these and are willing to help to narrow gaps between cultures (13). To what extent this also applies to other teachers is not known. Studies show, however, that most teachers accept the general aims of the comprehensive school of democracy, tolerance and so on (14).

The attitudes and knowledge of pupils are also studied. In one study (15) 33 pupils aged thirteen were interviewed (the interviews were taped and written). The pupils were asked the following questions:

1. What is a developing country? Tell me what it looks like to live there.

2. Which developing countries do you know of?

3. Where did you learn about these countries?

4. Why are people poor?

5. Is it possible to do anything about the gap between poor and rich countries?

The answers were grouped with respect to ethnocentrism and complexity.

Answers to question no. 1:

a. A description of misery. Seen from outside.

26 pupils - Examples of responses:

- «Poor, no proper houses, too little food»
- «Poor, bad clothing, thin, no industry, slum, no real houses»

b. The underdeveloped countries are related to development

3 pupils:

- «A country that develops»
- «It is developing, gets new machines»

c. There are differences between countries as well as in a specific country.

4 pupils

- «The rich take most, the best land, the poor get the rest»
- «There can be some nice houses, but many live in huts and have bad dwellings»

The pupils see the third world as a real misery. There was no hope to be seen. Their point of departure is their own housing and clothing.

When asked where they got their knowledge from (question 3) the pupils first mentioned television and their social studies textbook.

When asked to explain why some people are poor (question 4) the pupils were quite vague. They mostly pointed to poor conditions, too little money, unemployment. A few responses pointed to a relationship between poor and rich countries.

In another study (16) pupils expressed largely positive attitudes towards immigrant children.

Three problems could be identified:

1. The overall acceptance of the ideology of the guidelines does not mean an acceptance of «immigrant problems» as a problem of the people - here = all pupils - to learn to know, to understand and to learn by other cultures. The Swedish school is by tradition a Swedish school and it has (by law) to foster a Swedish culture. This culture includes tolerance towards other cultures, but it still is a Swedish culture. Here is a dilemma: How to develop a multicultural «cultural inheritance?»

2. Teachers in schools with many immigrants express a positive attitude, but they lack knowledge and material. There is also a strong pressure against an intercultural education as this is seen as pressing still more material in an already overful curriculum. «How do we get time to teach immigrant history and culture or immigrant problems when there is hardly time enough for the necessary - that is Swedish - history?».

As I see it, to implement an intercultural curriculum means to make real a view of knowledge in school that is not widely spread either in schools or in textbooks. Knowledge, not seen as a set of facts to remember, but as insights to gain.

3. We have shown a massive lack of non-ethnocentric teaching material on the relationship between cultures. How can the production of such material be stimulated? As textbook companies react to market trends it seems as if the only way to go is by training teachers to ask for such material. In Sweden there is also the possibility of the guidelines more explicitly stating that these aspects are to be dealt with in a specific way.

What can be done - examples of intercultural curriculum

Even if most textbooks and many schools do not devote much effort to developing a non-ethnocentric view of the world and a positive and informed attitude towards immigrants, there are activities with this aim. I will give some examples.

The development in all pupils of solidarity, tolerance and positive attitudes towards other cultures than their own, demands a curriculum that involves the pupils cognitively, emotionally and by action.

Such a curriculum ought to cover the following topics.

We and the world

The pupils need a knowledge of their own society and their own situation which is related to the life of others - now and in earlier periods.

Pupils do pose such questions themselves if they have a chance. Almius (17) had pupils aged 14-16 who told what problems they wanted to work with in the social studies lessons. The pupils wanted (among others) to know more about:

- Who becomes rich and who becomes poor?
- How to become rich?
- Have the poor countries always been poor and do they have to stay poor?
- Can the earth feed us?

Starting with the questions of the pupils Almius constructed a project that ran during a semester and involved all social studies lessons (18). The project was called «The world must be saved.» The pupils worked, among others, with the following problems:

- Why do people starve in the third world?
- Stop the hamburger - save the Amazonas!
- The rich and the poor - justice and peace!

- Indians and white - or the war starts in the sandpit

- Money to the poor people - or the art of sleeping well at night.

In other classes the actual Swedish society with its abundance of food, clothing and luxuries was compared with the situation in Sweden eighty years ago when Sweden had large groups of poor and powerless people and small groups of rich who possessed the power. The solution for a large number of the poorest then was emigration to America. The pupils worked with authentic documents on population, habitation, mortality and emigration etc thus comparing their life-situation with that of Swedes three generations ago. By interviewing grand-parents, and through literature, they came close to persons. In a second part of this curriculum the situation of poor people in the third world of today was paralleled. The same type of questions were asked. Who is poor and who is rich? Why is it so? Are these historic, geographic, religious or other explanations? To where can the poor and powerless emigrate today?

The unity of the world was taught by investigating the dependency of our prosperity on what is produced by people in the third world. A Norwegian textbook (19) gives the pupils the following questions to study and to discuss:

- Are there any in your family who emigrated to America? Why? How did they succeed over there? Did they come back?

- Interview some immigrant workers. Ask for instance: Where did they come from? Why have they come? What do parents and other family members do to earn money for food, clothing and housing. Do they send any money home to the family? How do they like their job? What do they do in their spare time?

- Go to the store and look at your dinner table. Where does the food you eat come from? Where do your clothes come from? To what extent do you eat and wear objects made in your own country? Who are the people who made all those other goods? Try to find out where they live and how!

What is culture?

A culture can be defined as «basic values of the world, the society and man, ways to solve problems and ways to express oneself. More concrete: ways to walk and to stand, ways of moving your arms and your legs, the expressions on your face, the way of talking, how to express gratitude, do business, be neighbours and much more.» (20). Culture thus

means more than arts, dancing and music. It means the way we live. The culture of Swedish peasants in 1890 can be paralleled to the culture of the bourgeois of the same time. The very different ways of living and thinking in these two contemporary Swedish cultures are a good starting point when learning to know immigrant cultures.

We and they

The popular myths that immigrants take the jobs or do not want to work, are lazy and dirty and criminal must be worked on. This can be done by letting the pupils study official statistics and by confronting their own attitudes. This is done by two textbooks (21) that seriously deal with cultural conflicts and prejudice.

The books ask the question «How does race prejudice develop?». To illustrate how prejudice is inherited from our milieu the pupils are asked to discuss sentences like the following:

- Lapps are lazy;
- Finns drink;
- Danes are good-natured;
- Americans lack culture;
- Negroes are oversexual;
- Arabs are lazy;
- Japanese people are cruel;
- Swedes lack prejudice.

Pictures like these (Figures 2 and 3) (22)(23) overturn the usual ethnocentric perspective.

I will close this section with a model (Figure 4) (24) that tries to take into account all the mentioned perspectives. It has thus been used by teachers as a means to plan inter-cultural curricula in social studies.

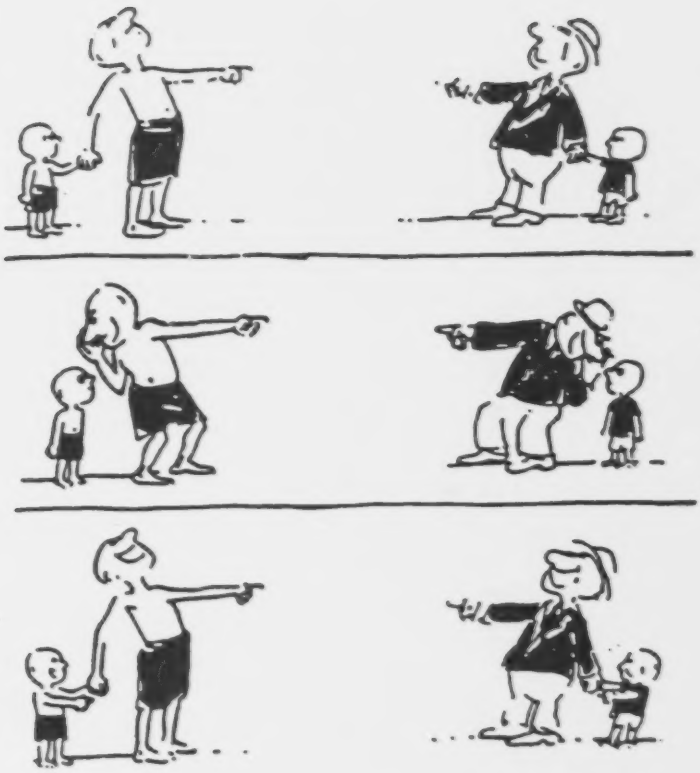


FIGURE 2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WE AND THEY

THEY AND WE

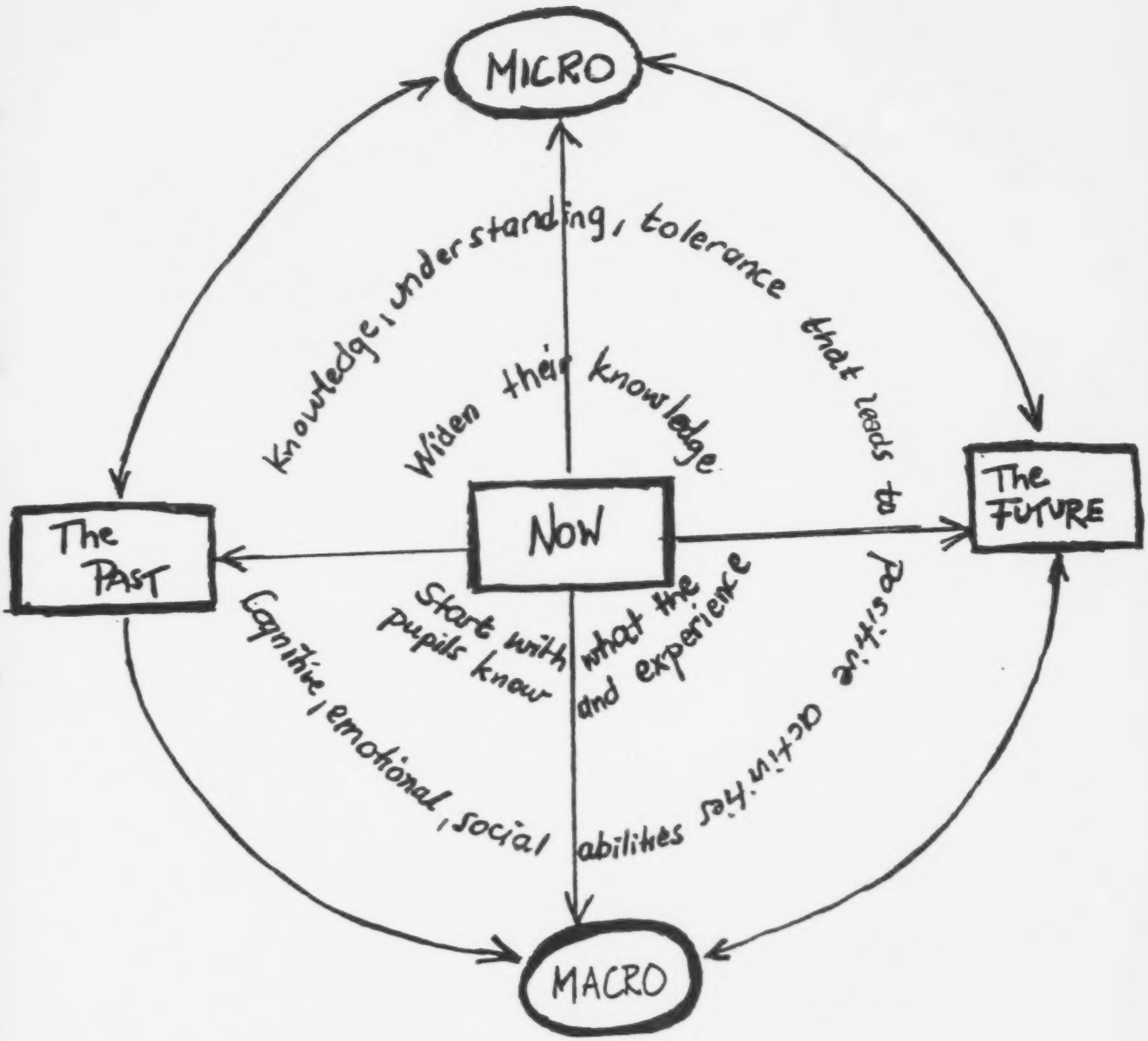
Tourists in Kenya: How do we look at them?
How do they look at us?

Discuss with this picture as a basis.

Photo: Wolf Crabel

FIGURE 3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



MICRO = My own experiences (I myself, my family, my neighbourhood)

MACRO = The world around us (The nation - the world)

FIGURE 4

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(1) SOU 1983:57.

(2) SOU 1983:57, page 12 (my translation).

(3) Lgr 80, set by the Parliament and acts as central rules for all schools.

(4) In the Swedish guidelines «social studies» stands for history, geography, social sciences and religion.

(5) BERGMANN, 1983.

(6) RYDÉN-THOMSON, 1950, page 2.

(7) It was used from 1919 to about 1955.

(8) As before including history, geography, social sciences and religion.

(9) GULLBERG & LIND, 1969.

(10) LIND & HERMELE, 1978.

(11) ASPENGREN & NYQVIST, 1980, RUBIN & SOHLBERG, 1981.

(12) BERGMANN, 1983.

(13) BERGMANN, 1983.

(14) SVINGBY, 1978.

(15) BERG & KLANG, 1984.

(16) BERGMANN, 1983.

(17) ALMIUS, 1983.

(18) History, geography, social studies.

(19) KORITZINSKY, 1976.

(20) ULF HANNERZ, 1982.

(21) KORITZINSKY, 1976 and BRÄNDEFORS, LUNDBERG, OSCARSSON, 1983.

(22) KORITZINSKY, page 85.

(23) BRÄNDEFORS et al, page 6.

(24) ALMIUS, 1982.

GEOGRAPHY AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Dawn GILL

In Britain, «multicultural education» impinges minimally on the mainstream curriculum. It is additional to whatever else is taught and is, in a sense, peripheral to the «real education» which is the subject of examinations. So-called «ethnic minorities» have become a focus of attention in schooling and the concerns of «multicultural education» have been focussed on the perceived needs of pupils from «ethnic minority backgrounds»; English as a second language receives a place on the timetable; in some enlightened schools there is mother-tongue teaching; school assemblies may celebrate the festivals of religions other than Christianity; and home economics classes experiment with curries. There may be lessons about «other» people and «their» cultures for the white British pupils; usually these lessons form part of social or religious education - typically, marginalised curriculum areas with no examination status. A study of other people and stereotyped versions of their cultures is interpreted in terms of the clothes they wear, their art, the food they eat, their religions and their music.

«Multicultural education» represents a commitment to the idea that the cultural backgrounds of pupils be valued. There are 147 languages spoken in ILEA schools, each attached to a culture, or perhaps to several if there are different social classes within the same language community. Multiculturalists have yet to provide an answer as to how schools can, in practical terms, teach about and value all of the cultures present in Britain's multicultural society. Perhaps understandably, several groups of children have received more attention than others. «West Indians» are an example of one such group (for the purposes of multicultural education, black British children whose parents or grandparents came from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Antigua, or one of the other Caribbean Islands tend to be thought of as «West Indians»). Steel bands have become the symbol of their culture; many schools have added steel band music to the curriculum, or at least offer classes after school. Liberal schools may allow students to wear rastafarian hats - although smoking marijuana tends not to be allowed - and may provide vegetarian meals at lunchtime.

Those pupils whose historical roots are in Jamaica, for example, are beginning to learn in school alongside their white and black friends that what is important about Jamaica is rastafarianism and the steel band. They do not learn, however, how vast profits from Bauxite mined in Jamaica end up in Europe or the USA, nor why the United Fruit Company and Del Monte dominate agribusiness, or that tourist hotels are owned, in the main, by multinational companies, are managed largely by foreigners, and that local people tend to be employed only at lower levels in the management hierarchies. They do not

learn of the history of colonialism and the effects of neo-colonialism on the Jamaican economy, or of the reasons for poverty and unemployment in Jamaica. In fact, to mention poverty and unemployment in connection with Jamaica is somehow in poor taste these days; what seems to matter is that schools should foster a «positive image» of black people so that black students should not view themselves «negatively».

What is happening is that white children are learning to associate black British people with steel bands and rastafarian hats; black British children are encouraged to associate themselves with these things: no-one is learning about racism. Neither white nor black are learning why there is such a high level of unemployment in Britain as the manufacturing industry is being moved to Korea and the Philippines (KEEBLE, 1977; SINCLAIR, 1983) creating conditions in the inner cities which lead to the scapegoating of black people as the cause of unemployment. They are not learning how racist ideology supported colonialism and imperialism in the past, currently supports neo-imperialism, and divides black and white people in Britain. Nor are they learning about the ways in which racism permeates the laws and institutions in Britain and leads to discrimination in housing, employment, and other areas of life. More importantly, they are not learning how to combat these things. That component of the school curriculum which is allocated to multicultural education neglects a consideration of these important issues, as does the mainstream curriculum.

I am not arguing here that schools should devalue the importance of building the confidence of black students in any way possible. Clearly, to value the history and culture of black students is important. But schooling which focuses on a small part of what its decision-makers see as «black culture» to the exclusion of political and economic analysis is divisive, diversionary and reactionary. It serves the same purpose as the rest of schooling; it socialises pupils into acceptance of the dominant ideology and it supports the status quo.

The mainstream curriculum

What follows is a caricature of secondary education in England which is, sadly, very near to the truth, although the work of radical teachers in some subjects and in some schools is beginning to bring about change.

Mainstream education involves inducting people into the dominant culture and ideology; therefore, it imparts a notion of «British» culture and «British» values. The content of

education is determined by those who have the power to decide what counts as knowledge. Thus, textbooks and lessons in history, for example, inform our children of the exploits of «great» white men and great battles, while failing to acknowledge the significance of women's lives. Other countries and their peoples are presented as of relatively little consequence; thus we learn that Christopher Columbus discovered America, Cook was a great explorer (not a murderer), we read of Clive of India, Lawrence of Arabia, we learn that Livingstone and Christianity were probably the best thing that could have happened to Africa, that William Wilberforce was responsible for ending the slave trade, and that «colonialism» is a term which is synonymous with bringing civilisation to the rest of the world (Centre for Anti-Racist Education, 1984).

Education in geography presents a study of other parts of the world in terms of what «we» get from «them», or in terms of problems such as poverty, disease, malnutrition and population growth. It fails to link these two areas of the syllabus, however; this ensures that the poverty is not seen as something which is related to what «we» get from «them».

The study of commodities is seen as important; a great deal of time is spent on learning about tea from India, rubber from Malaysia, cotton from Egypt, sugar from the West Indies, and so on. Students learn of the climate in which crops are grown, that plantation agriculture is managed by Europeans, that certain trade routes are used to get the commodities from the country of origin to Britain. The textbooks are implicitly racist and are also sexist (Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education 1983 and 1984).

What is presented as good art, music and literature in schools is, in the main, the product of a leisured elite (or the people in their patronage); its preoccupations reflect the preoccupations and world view of this group. What is regarded as British culture for the purpose of curriculum content is not a reflection of the lives and concerns of the majority of the people. «Classical» music has become the epitome of good taste and is valued as such in most schools; rock, blues, jazz and folk music rarely form the focus of attention in music classes - although steel bands are gaining ground in some schools (VULLIAMY 1980).

In terms of art appreciation, what counts as good art is paint on canvas, put there by male European Christians, usually, and it shows off the persons, land and possessions of the leisured elite to their best advantage. It mythologises Britain's past as a haven of dewy-eyed ladies, elegantly furnished drawing rooms, hunting scenes, men at war, and a haywain in sparkling water with labourers appearing in the background almost as specks on the horizon. The exploitation

of children in the factories and mines of the industrial revolution, the untimely deaths of underfed workers, and the tasks performed by servants are not part of what is recorded on canvas as representative of Britain's culture.

Similarly in literature, poor and working class writers are rarely published by mainstream publishers and, even today, books about the lives of poor and working class people are so few and far between that their titles stand out in our memories as exceptions.

The point which needs to be made in relation to what counts as British culture in schools is that it is not representative of the lives of the majority of the people. It distorts reality and prevents an understanding of the relationship between the information which is handed down as important, and the interests which are represented in that information.

Young people are presented with stereotyped and mythologised versions of British culture in the mainstream curriculum; in addition, pupils in «enlightened» schools, where multiculturalism is taken seriously, are presented with stereotyped and mythologised versions of one or two «other» cultures.

All pupils in British schools are socialised into the dominant ideology first and foremost. They attend lessons in geography, history, art and literature; they pick up a working knowledge of capitalist economics through maths lessons; they also learn to work as competitive individuals who are judged by an examination system which grades them for acceptance or rejection by the job market.

It is necessary to remember that «multicultural education» takes place in this context. In view of the time spent learning about «British culture» - however defined - in comparison with the time spent celebrating Eid, cooking Indian meals, or appreciating steel band music, the «other» cultures necessarily come off worst.

More time is always given to «British» information and ideas than to others. In addition to this, almost all teaching and learning are conducted in English. Multicultural education is, therefore, necessarily ethnocentric, if only because «we» learn about «them» through the medium of «our» language. The subtleties of cultural difference cannot be fully appreciated and therefore cannot be valued by pupils of the dominant group.

The divisive curriculum: oppressive ideology

It has been argued that schooling misrepresents all cultures and that multicultural or intercultural curriculum is ethnocentric in that the dominant culture is necessarily given more prominence than others, and some cultures have to be disregarded entirely.

Ethnocentric multiculturalism is divisive. The way that it operates is less blatant than overt racism because it depends less on presumptions of physical and biological differences, and more on ideas about cultural disparities. It echoes the pronouncements of Lord Denning, who published a book claiming that black people are not as fit as white to serve on juries because they come from cultures with less stringent moral codes (quoted in RUSHDIE 1982) and those of Margaret Thatcher ... «people are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture. And, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world, that if there is a fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in.» (Daily Mail, 31.1.78).

Ethnocentric multiculturalism is an ideological device which promotes stereotyping of individuals and leads to mythologising of certain groups which are presented as culturally static; it helps to prevent the sharing of common experiences and the realisation of unity. Multiculturalism can also directly reinforce patriarchy and the oppression of women; (Chapakis and Enloe 1983; Stimakowitz 1984; Hooks 1982; LACWC 1980). In pedagogic terms it is purely descriptive. Cultures are not analysed critically, they are merely described - and falsely, since what counts as culture is determined by a male-dominated elite.

Intercultural education, then to the extent that it is ethnocentric in content and descriptive in pedagogy, can be reactionary; it stresses differences between people; it fails to examine the dynamic relationship between people and the political and economic forces which shape their lives; it assumes that «cultural differences» are somehow natural and permanent (in this it may be racist) and must be preserved at all costs; it suggests that culture, not economic and political power, is the key dynamic in determining relationships between groups of people; it ignores the issue of class and it is also sexist. To make ethnicity or culture the centre of an educational debate and a focus of the curriculum is to divert attention from inequality and its determinants; (GUNDARA 1983; MULHERN 1980; SIMPSON 1984).

Racism, sexism and ethnocentrism are ideologies which facilitate oppression. Black people in Britain are over represented in work which has low pay and low status; this is more acutely the case for black women than for black men (MAMA 1984); white women also tend to occupy lower status and income positions than white men. Oppressions based on myths of physical, intellectual or cultural superiority and inferiority (or just inherent «difference») have been used throughout history by governments and employers to ensure that some groups of people are made available for low paid and hazardous work; people are encouraged to be so distrustful and dismissive of each other that they cannot unite against the forces which oppress them; (HOOKS 1982; DAVIES 1983; MARABLE 1983). We need to examine the role of the «intercultural curriculum» in promoting an education which is ethnocentric and sexist, and which coheres with racism and the class structure as part of the totality of an oppressive mechanism.

This mechanism operates across national boundaries: it is a subtly racist and sexist rationale which allows so many British and US based companies to close down textile factories in Britain and the USA, for example, and open up new factories in Asia where (in particular female) labour costs are lower; (CHAPAKIS and ENLOE 1983; SINCLAIR and SIMPSON 1984; THOMPSON and LARSON 1978). Asian women are supposedly («traditionally», «culturally», «naturally», «inherently») willing to work for low wages and to endure tedious, repetitive, unhealthy work and harsh discipline - women in the Philippines, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka, because of their «Asian-ness» are supposedly prone to accept exploitative work and conditions. The idea that factories in South East Asia will be more profitable than those in Europe represents a form of institutionalised racism and sexism which operates at a global scale to promote the interests of capitalism. The assumption that Third World workers, in particular women, will accept low wages and poor working conditions reflects not their desire to be thus exploited, but the economic conditions which dominate their lives. The ethnocentric, racist and sexist «justification» for relocation of textiles factories serves to divide people in many ways: men and women are placed in competition with each other; Asian women are classified as «cheap labour»; they are pitted against working class people in Britain and the USA whose jobs are threatened. This is useful for companies, since competition between people works against international trades union solidarity; it depresses wages and increases profits. It is interesting to examine the ways in which ideologies of racism and sexism interwine with nationalism and xenophobia to buttress oppression and inequality.

The operation of capitalism across international boundaries is made comparatively easy if racist and sexist ideologies permeate the consciousness of an international workforce. These ideologies help to prevent a recognition of the true source of oppression. In the global economy

Asian women seem to be taking «British» jobs and industry because «they are prepared to work for low pay». In Britain, «black people are taking our jobs» - immigration is held responsable for unemployment, not the economic system which brought black people to Britain as «cheap labour»; (SIVANANDAN 1982) - the same economic system which now exploits «cheap labour» in the Philippines and in the tea and coffee plantations of India, Africa and South America; (DINHAM and HINES 1983; HEATLEY 1983; RODNEY 1977; HAYTER 1981).

Geographical education and divisive ideologies

British society is nationalistic, ethnocentric, racist, sexist and class-ridden. The ideologies which maintain divisions between people permeate the language and content of the curriculum in all schools; geographical education is no exception; its language and content help to promote inequalities at all levels. As a school subject and an academic discipline geographical education works to preserve an inequitable status quo at an interpersonal level, locally, nationally and globally: it currently operates as a small part of a much larger mechanism which ensures the survival of capitalism; (BLAUT 1969; GILL 1982; BUNGE 1963; GILL 1984; GRAY 1976; COOK 1984; ACDG 1984).

It is not possible here to analyse all of the ways in which divisive ideologies permeate geographical education: this analysis is complex; it requires detailed examination of the content of syllabuses, textbooks, explanations and theories, and of the language in which they are presented. The Association for Curriculum Development in Geography is currently co-ordinating such analytical work, the results of which are published in our journal «Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education». The Association aims to make teachers and students critically aware of the ideological content and political context of geographical education, and to encourage active transformation of the world in which we live through the realisation of the links between critical understanding and change.

The lesson content which follows is intended to help secondary school pupils to recognise the ideological content of geographical education. The focus on racism is used to demonstrate the ways in which this ideology is part of a system of exploitation which operates at national and international levels and which has its roots in a colonial and imperialist past.

Towards a redefinition of intercultural education?

Education must demonstrate that racist, ethnocentric, nationalist, sexist and class divisions between people are not insurmountable. A starting point is that these divisions have to be analysed and confronted. As currently conceived, the notion of intercultural or multicultural education fails to address key issues of inequality, oppression and exploitation; it is failing in the essential task of naming and confronting the divisions between people, and may even be helping to perpetuate them. We need, therefore, to be wary and critical of it.

In moving towards a reconceptualisation of the terms and goals of multicultural and intercultural education the key question could be «What is truly intercultural/multicultural - what do all cultures have in common?» Sexism, racism, elitism and nationalism would probably be at the top of the list of intercultural ideologies. Class hierarchies are also found in most cultures in the western world; capitalistic ideology is intercultural; our lives are shaped from birth by pro-capitalist values and economic considerations: these provide the context within which racism, sexism, nationalism, ethnocentrism and the class structure thrive.

«Culture» and therefore the mainstream school curriculum reflect and perpetuate all of these ideologies and social relations. It may be necessary for multiculturalists - if their concern is to eliminate racist policy and practice - to focus their attention more on a critical analysis of the mainstream curriculum than on a consideration of what ought to be done in relation to «migrant» groups. A critical analysis of all cultures may be more valuable in terms of providing individual freedom and equality than the uncritical laissez faire approach to sexism, racism, nationalism and the class structure which is implicit in the multicultural curriculum.

As educationalists we need to constantly remind ourselves of the responsibility that we bear for the future; we need to accept this responsibility in terms of promoting freedom from the straitjacketing effects of the ideologies which divide people and cripple intelligence, understanding and emotional development, as racism and sexism do for black and white people, male and female. It is only within a context of shared humanity and equality that men and women of all nationalities can develop freely and fully. This development could become the goal of multicultural/intercultural education - unless we abandon the terms altogether and examine oppressive ideologies in their own terms.

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> «We have learned something about ourselves, a lesson which we desperately need to learn. When we started out, there were the waverers and the faint-hearts. The people who thought we could no longer do the great things which we once did ... that we could never again be what we were. There were those who would not admit it ... but - in their heart of hearts - they too had their secret fears that it was true: that Britain was no longer the nation that had built an Empire and rule a quarter of the world. Well, they were wrong.»

This is part of the context within which «intercultural education» takes place in Britain.

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SOCIAL SCIENCES - DISCUSSION

Unlike other subjects, or groups of subjects, which have a content and ways of working which themselves can be placed in the context of wider understandings about history, economics politics and social relations, the social sciences take these both as their objects of study and their forms of investigation. Thus the content of the lessons of social science teachers has among its primary concerns many of the social issues which an intercultural approach to the curriculum has to grapple with; material inequalities, social stratification, intolerance and oppression. They cannot be avoided in any serious study of the ordering of social, political and economic systems any more than teachers of these subjects can opt out of discussing theories of continuity and change.

These theoretical and practical interests do not however mean that social science teachers potentially have a privileged understanding of the oppression which affects particular groups in society. In this respect, a teacher who attends closely to the students' experiences in the context of, say, languages or drama lessons may well get to know and understand as much. It does mean that, in developing content and approaches which they hope will enable students - whether part of a majority or a minority - to participate fully in society, they are likely to develop strong views on the politics of an intercultural curriculum.

At the Conference, the Social Sciences Seminar often found themselves in disagreement over the principles which should generate intercultural practice. As a result they submitted a report at the end of the Conference which attempted to represent their divisions of opinion. In the hope that it will be of value to a wider audience, we include the report in full.

Introduction

Members of the group «Social Science» differ in their approach to goals of intercultural education. One group believes that a structural analysis of inequality is necessary in defining the problems; the other favours a pragmatic approach to the problems posed by an intercultural curriculum. Nevertheless the results of both groups are quite similar.

Report 1

Reasons for Intercultural Education

Intercultural Education is necessary because of:

Migration - for work - Economic exploitation is part of the reason, and because minorities are discriminated against.

There have been indigenous minority groups in Europe for many years (Jewish people, Lapps, Gypsies). These people now demand more from schooling.

It is a task of social science and social studies to respond to the needs and demands for intercultural education.

Other groups are also discriminated against - not only the ethnic minorities. The class structure determines this.

Within minority groups and within the class structure women are further disadvantaged by sexism.

Minority groups, working class people and women are beginning to demand changes in education.

Intercultural education should attack the CAUSES of inequality. This necessitates emancipation of all groups which are discriminated against.

Causes

All are political, and related to the inequal distribution of power. Different facets of inequality stem from:

- Sexism;
- Racism;
- Capitalist economic system.

There may be historical causes, but these must also be seen in political terms, in connection with power distribution; for example, religious persecution should be seen within a context of political and economic power struggles, (eg Problems faced by Moluccans).

Recommendations

Ultimately it is desirable that history, social studies and geography should be integrated, but each subject, as it currently operates has a specific contribution to make to intercultural education.

Social studies has a specific responsibility to make clear to students the structural factors which underlie inequality.

See Paper on «Political Education» BORRELLI and ESSINGER (4.1 to 4.6).

Social Anthropology is part of social studies in some countries (Norway).

There are two trends within this subject: anti-racist and multicultural. These divisions reflect the two approaches referred to above - pragmatic and structural.

Report 2

European countries are and will stay multicultural.

In every nation equality according to race, sex, class, culture shall be the ultimate aim, which means the combat in all sectors of the society racism, sexism, discrimination according to economic or cultural reasons.

Schools are part of the economic, political and ideological structure of a country.

Schooling is able to play a part in changing - and reproducing - the economic political and ideological structure of a country.

The concept of interculturalism is not to be seen as a specific part of the curriculum for specific groups but as a main perspective for mainstream education.

It is a perspective that applies to all pupils not only for minority pupils. See SVINGBY «The Development of All Pupils ... » (p 188).

Thus, the Declaration of Human Rights is the base of all education.

Consequences of the basic assumptions

See «Four Principles» ... BORRELLI and ESSINGER (2.1 to 2.4)

Intercultural objectives in all subjects in the area of Social Sciences and Humanities are reached when pupils of all cultures have the opportunity to (a) reflect upon the actual and historical aspects of their own life as well as that of the world as a whole and, (b) to identify themselves with what is taught in order to achieve a positive self-image and develop knowledge, skills and attitudes for a multicultural society.

This does not mean, however, that just new topics should be added to the curriculum for instance, Turkish or Indian history.

Another concept of knowledge is needed than the traditional «root learning», one that is much more dynamic; stressing reflection, questioning, identification, action.

Teachers are recommended to reflect upon the topics they traditionally teach in their subjects. Are these racist, nationalist, ethnocentric, sexist?

Are they really relevant for obtaining the goals of the school?

Are there other topics that are more relevant?

A co-operation between the different subjects could be of particular benefit when you take intercultural curriculum as a departure.

Recommendations on a short-term perspective

Using a traditional curriculum in a new way

See HOFF's paper

Changing parts of the curriculum

See DONK's paper. This stresses the necessity of taking into account the power and structure of the societies in all subjects.

Other examples are given in the papers by SVINGBY, GILL, included in this volume.

Both groups refer the reader to the paper on Political Education by Michele BORRELLI and Helmut ESSINGER though interestingly they choose to emphasise different aspects. They would appear to share the perspective of the BORRELLI and ESSINGER paper which proposes an education based on a respect for the dignity of human beings and the realisation of human rights.

> «The educational task of all political education is the quest for humanity. That's why political education will fight with the weapons of criticism against all kinds of demagoguery, especially fascist demagoguery and racist thinking.»
>
> (BORRELLI and ESSINGER, p 162)

As we understand BORRELLI and ESSINGER's argument, dialogue between people across nationalisms is inextricable from a concern to destroy all exploitations is inextricable from a another. In the light of this the social sciences must centrally concern themselves with racism, fascism, sexism and other forms of inequality.

There is also a divergence between the «pragmatic» and «structural analysis» approaches mentioned in the Seminar Group's Report in terms of teaching styles. Part of the difficulty with some approaches to the Social Sciences curriculum lies in

an acceptance of a transmission model of the curriculum. Where the curriculum is defined externally, the teacher's job is seen as adding to and contextualising what students need to be told. By contrast SVINGBY argues that students, given the chance, can pose the important questions themselves. She claims that students who are able to use authentic sources of human information (cf DODGSON above) begin to ask their own questions: «Who becomes rich and who becomes poor?» «Do the poor countries have to stay poor?» Her practice significantly involves getting students out into the community to find out who plans, who decides and, through contact with some of the structures of society, to develop confidence in themselves and their ability to take action.

This is very close to BORRELLI and ESSINGER's view of students and the community and is in keeping with a close grouping of views on the central activity of classrooms expressed in many of the Social Science papers. BORRELLI/ ESSINGER, FILE, GILL, SVINGBY are all in agreement that critical reflection is both a first priority and a source of difficulties to be overcome. As FILE suggests,

> «You can be taught a method of analysis without being showed that the techniques can be applied to one's own life, the media, and other sources of common sense knowledge».

Students have to be given the information, SVINGBY's «real view of knowledge», the world knowledge that is not there in most of the textbooks but they also have to be given the space to make up their own minds about what to think and the sense of an ability to take action for themselves.

Conclusion

The Social Sciences are perhaps inevitably the most contentious area of the curriculum, though they share with other areas the shaping of students' world views and the development of their critical faculties. It is an area of the curriculum which is particularly appropriate for the pursuit of the four principles proposed by BORRELLI and ESSINGER to which we refer in our discussion on Intercultural Curriculum Practice (above) and for doing this as SVINGBY suggests «cognitively, emotionally and by action».

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY - PAPERS

Liz LINDSAY starts from a position which sees science and technology as a key subject area for tackling racism. She argues that school science promotes negative images of non-Western societies and cultures and omits from consideration the negative effects of Western science and technology. She describes in detail a scheme of work on nutrition in which learning science goes hand in hand with learning about the social consequences of science and technology.

Jaap BLEYS et al in a small-scale study, perhaps unsurprisingly, find no indication that students with different cultural backgrounds have difficulty either in co-operating with others or in independent study. They record that the context of their study is one in which the students were taught how to work independently in carefully structured lessons. They also note that there appears remarkably little difference between the students studied with respect to content and scientific approaches, except for some differences based on religious beliefs.

AN ANTI-RACIST APPROACH TO NUTRITION

Numerous examples of racism can be found in biology textbooks, especially in the treatment of nutrition and world hunger. Most texts assume without question the superiority of everything European/American, including farming methods, food processing and distribution, and the western diet. Third World populations are blamed for their own problems.

It is extremely important that science teachers should alert their students to such bias since there is a tendency to consider as «fact» any statements made by «scientists».

I shall try to outline briefly my experience with an alternative anti-racist approach to the topic of nutrition.

Students work in groups, using a variety of sources, to explore various aspects of the topic, to discuss their findings and to make a critical evaluation of each other's conclusions. With this resource-based learning it is possible for members of the class to work independently and thus release me to have discussions with individuals or groups in a non-threatening atmosphere.

After a general introduction to the ecosystem students research different types of farming in Britain and compare the effects on the ecosystem of the modern monocultural with more traditional mixed farming. They pay special attention to the latest high energy and capital-intensive American system which is usually regarded as a model by the rest of the world. They investigate the disadvantages as well as the merits of the Green Revolution, still hailed in many school texts and films as the great technological solution for world hunger.

They study food types and what various texts consider are the essentials of a balanced diet. They bring in foods to be tested, especially for protein content: potatoes, cereals, and less traditionally-British pulses such as black-eye peas, lentils and soya beans. They can be given access to figures which give protein concentration, quality and yield per acre for these staple foods and compare these figures with those for animal protein (1).

They are given data of the recent research of the amount of energy (especially irreplaceable energy) required to produce the same amount of food value in animal and vegetable protein. They also look at the reasons for and the effects of food processing and the growing popularity of the cheaper restaurants or «take-aways» with their quick service of foods with high salt, fat and sugar content, and also the more common use of packaged foods, often artificially coloured or flavoured, attractively packaged and frequently advertised. They may consider what food values, as well as fibre, are destroyed in the «value added» processing which so greatly increases the price.

They visit a supermarket to find out the country of origin of the various foods and the food company which has processed them, thus obtaining first hand evidence of the variety provided in Britain's diet by Third World countries and also the small number of companies which are food processors.

Costing for the minimum daily intake for a good balanced diet (as defined by their text books) may help them explain why some lower socio-economic groups in Britain suffer from malnutrition and poorer health.

Students are given data of the difference in diet for the different socio-economic groups, and the incidence of heart, circulatory or digestive disorders in each group. They should find that in Britain the lower socio-economic groups suffer most from these ailments. Moreover these groups buy smaller quantities of fresh fruit and vegetables which are more expensive and less filling than cheaper foods with little fibre and high proportions of fat, sugar and starch.

An excellent example of ways government intervention can improve general nutrition and morale was shown during World War II when the maintenance of a healthy population was considered vital to the war effort. Scarce foods (and tea) were rationed and subsidised to ensure that every member of the population had access to a share of basic foods. At the same time a government regulation that manufacturers must add Vitamin D to all margarine virtually eradicated rickets, the long-standing «English disease», especially prevalent among the poorer population. A higher incidence of rickets is evident today among some of the non-margarine eaters in the Asian population in Britain, but in this case no government action has been taken, and such people can eliminate rickets only if they supplement their diets, at their own expense, with Vitamin D pills.

While the subject of malnutrition, disease and starvation in the Third World cannot be fully understood without an integrated approach and references to geography, history, politics, economics and sociology, the following approach in biology is a great improvement on the meagre and misleading references in the biology text books.

Before I begin a study of the incidence and effects of malnourishment and famine in the Third World, I ask students to write down their own ideas of the causes, which they keep for reference. Not unexpectedly, with a varied background of ability, socio-economic class and association with non-English countries, a wide range of views is expressed. These reasons usually include the negative stereotypes, with their racist overtones, of laziness, shiftlessness, stupidity, ignorance, lack of skill and over-breeding. The poorness of the soils and oppressiveness of unpredictability of the climate are sometimes included.

While some students (or their relatives) come from Third World countries, a greater number have links with Ireland, so I use the Irish potato famine of 1846-50 as a starting point. Students have no difficulty in discovering that two million people, 25% of the Irish population, died from starvation during these years while another 25% migrated. The only crop to be affected by blight was the potato crop. Farmers continued to produce successfully cereals, cattle, pigs, eggs and butter (enough to feed twice the Irish population over the period), all of which were exported. Farmers were usually forced to sell all their crops other than potatoes to pay their rent. Failure to do this meant eviction and the razing of their cottages; they could find nowhere else to live and no work.

Since the successful exported crops were grown by the Irish farmers, the Irish famine cannot be attributed to the laziness, shiftlessness, ignorance or lack of skill on the part of the farmers, to the poorness of the Irish soil or to the vagaries of the climate. Nor had the population increased suddenly betweeen 1845-46 and 1846-47.

Having studied the Irish situation, all students, especially those with Irish roots, are better able to understand and empathise with the hungry in the Third World and are able to see a number of resemblances between the situations in Ireland and the Third World.

Working in groups, students then try to test, and possibly amend their original hypotheses regarding the reasons for world hunger. They use a wide range of books and pamphlets often with conflicting interpretation of the causes (and solution) of world hunger. This encourages critical evaluation and a lively discussion. The amount of guidance given depends on the maturity and ability of the students.

One of the aims is for students to see that older traditional methods of farming in East Asia and other Third World countries with their careful conservation methods over thousands of years generally produced adequate food.

Students are given access to reports by visitors to different countries in the Third World before the infiltration of western science and technology. Visitors' impressions of many parts of Africa and Asia in pre-colonial days were of ordered societies with plentiful food supplies. All arable land was intensively cultivated. Periodic famines occurred when the poor suffered most, but did not have the scope of the present day.

The letter of a French colonial inspector from Upper Volta (2) mentions the high priority given to industrial cash crops. Students have already noted in supermarkets and shops, tremendous amounts of imports from Third World countries, like tea, coffee, peanuts, cocoa, tropical fruits, cotton, all of which are cash crops. The likelihood of ecological damage and diminishing returns as a result of the continued use of the same land for the same crop has already been mentioned.

The pattern in most Third World countries appears to be that an increasing amount of the better arable land is being used for cash crops (3) so that production of human food is being confined to smaller amounts of land, most of it marginal, which in desperation is already too intensively cultivated and overgrazed, resulting in soil exhaustion, erosion and greatly decreased productivity (4), such a contrast to the good husbandry and conservation of resources in the pre-colonial days. It also seems to be common that thousands who once farmed land to produce human food, are now landless, homeless and without employment. Jobs in secondary and tertiary industry are very limited since the wealthy countries severely restrict access to their markets of any goods manufactured in the Third World.

Students have no difficulty in seeing the intensification of the pattern already noted in Britain of the higher susceptibility of those who are malnourished to illness and disease. Nutritional deficiency diseases are still seen throughout the world but starvation is now limited mainly to the Third World.

Unlike the more affluent countries, there are no pensions for old, sick or unemployed. (Consideration could be given to the situation in Britain if all pensions were withdrawn).

The high death rate among children and the need for some security in sickness or old age are the strongest reasons why birth control is not willingly practised in the poorest countries. The students can find statistics to show that whenever the birth rate has decreased in Third World countries (as has occurred in Britain), the average income has first increased.

Some communities which are still growing and eating their traditional food prevent protein deficiences by mixing their vegetable proteins: in the Andes cornflour and bean flour, and the Chinese, for centuries, have added Chinese cabbage and soy beans to rice (5). Unfortunately the type of food imported by the Third World countries, tends to be the packaged, processed type with additives such as sugar, very much more expensive and far less nutritious than the traditional locally grown food. The wasteful and expensive American diet does not have to be accepted as the model which others should emulate.

Fears are often expressed in text books and the media that world food resources will be inadequate because of the continued population increase in the Third World. The industrialised world need have no fear that they (or their animals) will suffer; throughout history in times of shortages, the most powerful survive, the poorest perish.

The United States at present, with 6% of the world's population, consumes 35% of the world's resources. Rich countries as a whole (25% of the whole population) eat two thirds of the world's food production.

> «The average United States American gets through about 1800 lb of grain a year but eats only 200 lb as grain, the rest being passaged through livestock, while the average Third Worlder gets about 500 lb a year, mostly eaten in pristine form.» (6)

A change in popular preference to lean meat rather than grain-fattened marbled beef could improve the health of the affluent countries and quickly provide a grain surplus for consumption by the Third World countries. However provision of additional food is useless unless the hungry can afford to eat it.

Alleviation of hunger and starvation in the Third World does not depend on a scientific and technological solution as is so often put forward in textbooks. Production of more food or newer types of food (like SCP) (7) in the industrialised world, or even an increase in yields in the Third World is not the solution unless the poor, landless and unemployed can afford to pay for it. The solution is a matter of redistribution of land, employment and resources, although this would undoubtedly mean that the more affluent nations would have to be prepared to increase the volume of the goods they give in return for the products they import from the Third World (8). The solution to world starvation and hunger is political and economic, not scientific and technological (9).

I find that students are more engrossed in this topic, read more widely and become more involved in discussion than with most other topics. In their evaluation of their research, they comment on their findings and relate them to their original hypotheses. Many students, including some with non-European roots, express surprise at the alternative viewpoints and conflicting interpretations.

I think the experience will help students to be more critical with their future reading, and to be less willing to accept explanations which are not considered in a broad social and political context.

REFERENCES

(1) Figures available in TUDGE C, (1979) The Famine Business Penguin pp 39-44.

(2) A French colonial inspector wrote to his government from famine-stricken Upper Volta on 7.3.1932:

«One can only wonder how it happens that populations who always had on hand three harvests in reserve, and to whom it was unacceptable to eat grain that had spent less than three years in the granary have suddenly become improvident. They managed to get through the terrible drought years 1912-14 with hardship ... Now these people, once accustomed to food abundance, are living from hand to mouth. I felt morally bound to point out that the policy giving priority to industrial cash crops has coincided with an increase in the frequency of food scarcity.»

From Susan GEORGE and Nigel PAIGE, Food for Beginners, p 42.

(3) «World-wide, 250,000 sq miles - one and a half times the area of California, enough land to feed the world's present hungry people several times over - is given to cash crops like coffee, tea, cocoa and the rest which may have little or no nutritional value and much of what does have nutritional value ... is fed to livestock, which squanders about 90% of the original vegetable protein».

TUDGE, op cit, p 14.

«Today cash crops occupy 55% of the best land in the Phillipines, 80% in Mauritius, and peanuts alone occupy 50% of the land in Senegal.»

Susan GEORGE, How the Other Half Dies, p 39.

(4) The video Haunt of Man provides a useful focus for discussion here.

(5) FRANKE, R G and FRANKE D N, Man and the Changing Environment Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p 250.

(6) TUDGE, op cit, p 19.

(7) SCP or single-cell protein consists of «micro-organisms like yeasts that can reproduce themselves at prodigious speeds when provided with a gassy or liquid hydrocarbon food base.»

Susan GEORGE, How the Other Half Dies, p 273.

(8) While the volume of cash crops has increased considerably, the prices paid to the underdeveloped countries by the affluent countries for the cash crops continue to become less compared with the prices that have to be paid for imports, in other words countries have to produce more and more cash crops to get the same goods in return. Example:

5 tons of sisal bought a tractor in 1963;
10 tons of sisal were needed in 1970;
12.5 tons of rubber bought one tractor in 1963;
37.5 tons of rubber were needed in 1970.

The «actual volume of exports by the developing world has increased by over 30% in the last 20 years, whilst their value, in real terms, has increased by only 14%.»

Susan GEORGE, op cit, p. 37.

(9) Susan GEORGE refers to a statement made by the UN, that before all the starving in the Third World have the slimmest chance of eating enough, «it would be necessary to break the vicious circle of unemployment, low food production - low productivity - low income which strangles such a large part of mankind. This, in turn, might entail very deep transformations in present socio-economic structures.»

Susan GEORGE, op cit, p 43.

REACTIONS OF STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS TO PARTS OF THE SCIENCE CURRICULUM - A PRELIMINARY STUDY

Jaap BLEYS, Jan VAN HOEIJ and Leon VAN SCHAIK

1. Introduction

Which adaptations does a school have to make in its curriculum of science when that school is a multicultural institution with students coming from many different countries?

Ever since we asked ourselves that question we have been looking for an answer. After discovering that there was hardly anything published on the subject, we decided to do a little research of our own. We evaluated newly developed material for the integrated subject of science (formerly biology, physics and chemistry). This material seemed so original and attractive that we were very interested whether it would work for foreign students as well.

2. Key Questions: Fact or Prejudice?

Teachers have many preconceived ideas about students from ethnic groups. These ideas are partly based on the teachers' experience, partly on knowledge about the historical/cultural backgrounds of these students and partly on prejudice. With these ideas in the back of our minds we tried to evaluate the experimental science material to see if it would work for foreign students. In this paper we will focus mainly on biology because of the familiarity of the authors with that subject.

2.1 Achievements

The idea that foreign students score lower in tests than Dutch students is generally accepted as a fact. Several researchers such as EHINDERO, PINARD and LAURENDSEN indicate that children from Third World countries can be as much as two to four years behind in their development as defined by the theories of PIAGET when compared to children from rich countries. This gap in development was even observed in a country like Martinique in a school that was totally based upon the French system. The relationship between age and stage development as defined by the theories of PIAGET cannot be generalised for children all over the world (1).

Chances are that foreign students already have a development gap when they enter Dutch schools, however, many teachers have observed that foreign students have a higher motivation to achieve than Dutch students.

The research of KAHLE (2), acknowledges this higher motivation amongst black students in the USA towards the subject of science, but on the other hand he indicates that their cognitive results are lower than those of white students. KAHLE concludes that if the students are not stimulated by the school, the teacher and the curriculum, their cognitive results will stay low.

2.2 Working method

In science education, practical work in the laboratory is an excellent asset especially for foreign students, because language is less likely to be a barrier (3).

However, this working method demands a great deal of independent study that could cause problems for foreign students, because they would have been brought up and educated in a more authoritarian manner. The discovery method is typical of our education culture especially in science. Most ethnic students are used to an educational system that is based upon the acceptance of what an elder person (ie the teacher) (4) teaches.

SELIM and SHRIGLEY conclude however that: «Fifth grade Egyptian students taught by discovery method scored higher in science achievement, both in recall and application, than students taught by the expository method. Students taught by the discovery method scored higher in science attitude than students taught by the expository method.»

2.3 The scientific approach

Our science is more western than we think. The Islamic scientific philosophy for instance is completely different. Islamic theologists believe that causuality is not a legitimate theory, because it would imply that phenomena would not be directly caused by God's will. Therefore one of the preconceived ideas that teachers have is that foreign students cannot accept the causual/analytical approach of science. KLEIN (5) discovered more examples of precausative thinking amongst Mexican-American students than amongst Anglo-American children. This shows that there might be different conceptions of nature and life amongst students from ethnic groups.

Western people feel that they are not dependent on natural forces anymore. How do people from other cultures relate to nature? One example is the address that the American Indian chief Seattle gave to the American Congress: «Your cities hurt the eyes», in which he expressed an American Indian philosophy towards nature.

The following teachers' experiences are examples of the different ways in which foreign students relate to nature:

- Foreign students often object about the dissection of plants;

- An Indonesian girl had a fit of giggles when she saw a can of catfood «with chicken».

3. The structure of the research

Based on our previous experience with and general knowledge of different cultures, we analysed the experimental science material in those passages that would give important information on the special problems that foreign students could encounter. We did not use all the material but only parts of lessons.

In the next paragraph we will indicate lesson by lesson why that lesson was chosen and what the results of the experiment were. Three schools were willing to participate:

a. Berlage Scholengemeenschap, Amsterdam, a school only attended by students from ethnic groups. (Level: MAVO, HAVO, VWO);

b. Prisma Scholengemeenschap, Hoorn, a school attended by both foreign students and Dutch students. (Level: lower vocational). The observed class contained two ethnic students.

c. Panta Rhei: Scholengemeenschap, Amstelveen, a school attended by students from ethnic groups and Dutch students. The observed class contained two foreign students.

The average age of all students in the observed classes was 12-13 years. The classes involved in this study were attended by an outsider who wrote down his observations without using a precoded observation scheme. Aside from the observers' notes, we also used the written material produced by the students. A total of 44 students of school (a) were involved in the experiment, 25 students of school (b) and 25 students of school (c). In total 48 foreign students and 46 Dutch students. In this experiment all foreign students were considered as one homogeneous group. In school (a) the class consisted of children from at least 15 different countries (Morocco, China, Pakistan, Philippines, Chile, Turkey, Eritrea, Lebanon, Colombia, India, Poland, Vietnam, Iran, Thailand and the Seychelles). If we had differentiated according to countries of origin, the number of students of each ethnic group would have been extremely small (maximum 3).

A handicap in the experiment was the difficult language of the instruction material and the limited writing abilities of the students. In our analysis of the written material we only used the answered questions. The unanswered questions were not taken into consideration at all and were not counted as wrong answers since the reasons why they were not completed were not known.

4. Result

4.1 «Leven in de sloot» («Life in the ditch»)

In this lesson the students are pretty much left to their own devices. They have to fill a jar with water from a ditch and catch fish and plants with a net. They have to bring the jars with water, plants and fish back to class in order to observe this through a looking glass. For this assignment we had anticipated the following behaviour:

- the students would be walking around in the classroom not knowing what to do;
- the teacher would constantly be trying to restore order and stimulate the kids to get back to work;

The following behaviour has been observed:

- There is only one dip-net and the students have to fill their own jars with whatever they catch; the students are very considerate and make sure everybody gets to use the net;
- back in class the children start working and try to find in biology books which animals are caught; the teacher does not have to activate them;
- the class is quiet, everybody is working on the assignment;
- in a group of three students the only foreign student is working quietly and independently on the assignment whereas the other two students are not in the least interested and start to do other things.

We observed two classes of school (a), one class of school (b) and one of school (c). The conclusion of this observation is that the foreign students actually work very well by themselves.

4.2 Building bridges

Students have to work in groups in order to construct different bridges out of cardboard. Afterwards they have to test the bridges. By using weight they can see which kind of bridge is the strongest. For this assignment we had anticipated great problems of co-operation amongst the students:

- the foreign students would not be able to assign different tasks to each other;
- there would be several arguments because the foreign students would not accept their tasks. There would be problems of leadership;
- the foreign students would complete the assignments by themselves.

The following behaviour has been observed:

- the distribution of tasks does not cause arguments and every student assumes his own responsibility;
- the groups work in a quiet and concentrated manner.

Observed were one class of school (c) and three classes of school (a). The conclusion is that foreign students work very well together on this assignment.

4.3 Cultivation of mould

For this assignment the children have to rub a piece of cheese against the floor, spit on fruit and rub a piece of bread between their hands. We had expected to receive negative reactions from the students, at least from the Islamic students.

Their culture has strict rules concerning food, mostly based on cleanliness. We anticipated the following reactions:

- students would refuse to carry out the assignment;
- students would carry out the assignment with obvious aversion;
- students would have other students do the assignment instead of doing it themselves.

The following behaviour has been observed:

- Some students refuse to carry out the assignment, some work with obvious disgust;

- A Chinese student soils the food with her foot;
- A Turkish student says about the exercise: «I don't like this.»
- A Moroccan student says: «I don't have dirty hands.»
- Students carry out the assignment.

Observed were 4 classes in school (a).

The conclusion is that not all foreign students have an aversion against this assignment.

4.4 Dissection of a plant

Students have to make a preparation of a leaf from a plant in order to look at it through a microscope. They have to tear off the leaf from the plant themselves. Based on our experience, we had expected that the foreign students would disapprove of the dissection of plants. Therefore we had anticipated the following behaviour:

- Foreign students would refuse to carry out the assignment;
- Foreign students would not want to hurt the plant;
- Foreign students would carry out the assignment with obvious aversion;
- They would make negative comments on the assignment.

The following behaviour has been observed:

- All students carry out the assignment.

Involved were 1 class in school (a) and 1 class in school (c).

4.5 Kinds of four-footed animals

Students learn about digitigrades, plantigrades and hoofed animals from their teacher. Afterwards they have to look up the different animals and write down on a chart to which category they belong. We had expected that students from ethnic groups would have difficulty making such distinctions, since they would have to look at animals from a rational, analytical point of view. According to some preconceived ideas this «typical western» way of regarding the world should not be familiar to these students. The following behaviour had been anticipated:

- Foreign students would not be able to fill in the chart correctly;

- Dutch students would have less difficulty filling in the chart.

The results are as follows:

- All students fill in the chart correctly.

Observed were 4 classes of school (a), 1 class of school (b) and 1 class of school (c).

4.6 Movement in water

Students put a crystal of potassium permagnate in cold water and observe what happens. They do the same with hot water. Then they fill up a conical flask with coloured hot water and place that into a beaker filled with clear cold water. By means of a drawing, they have to indicate what they observe. Afterwards they fill up a conical flask with cold coloured water and place this into a beaker with hot clear water. They have to explain the difference.

We had expected that especially foreign students would have difficulty explaining this phenomena because it requires the explanation, by the students themselves, of school course relationships. Therefore we had anticipated the following results:

- None of the foreign students would give a satisfactory explanation;

- Dutch students would have less trouble giving explanations.

The results were as follows:

- Only five Dutch students and one foreign student would give an answer at all;

- In all of these answers the observations were only described; none of the students were able to give an explanation.

Only one class of school (b) was observed.

Apparently the explanation of observations is too difficult for all students, because none of the students were able to do so.

4.7 Sonar and the appearance of bats

In this assignment students are asked to explain the appearance of an animal. They receive a sheet with drawings of the heads of three different kinds of bats. With the help of an information sheet they have to try to explain why bats have big ears.

We expected that students from ethnic groups would have difficulty connecting the big ears of the bats with their use of sonar. We had expected to receive non-rational answers such as: «bats look like that because that is the way God created them». The actual written answers were as follows, divided into three categories: correct, incomplete and incorrect (7).

Correct

- «because she whistles to the fly and against the fly and the whistle comes back and the bat hears something and she thinks there is a fly and she catches the fly and she eats it».
- «big ears, because the bats they make a sound and the sound comes back in the radar».
- «big ears. Sound of bat goes to butterfly and back and easy eating».

Incomplete

- «two big ears to listen well».
- «small eyes, big ears because he listen good».
- «big ears to catch the sound».

Incorrect

- «because they listen to other animals and hear well».
- «because the bats' eyes are bad, they don't see their prey»;
- «bat has two wings, and two ears and small eyes and big mouth».

Two answers were as anticipated:

- answer from a Turkish student: «Because the bats born like that God wanted that and that's how they are born from their parents.»
- answer from a Moroccan student: «Bat has big eye and he is very small and God wants they look like that».

These answers are classified within the category incorrect.

These are the results:

CHART 1: Answers «Sonar and the appearance of bats»			
CORRECT:	INCOMPLETE:	INCORRECT:	TOTAL:
5 (20%)	11 (44%)	9 (36%)	25 (100%)

The conclusion is that although some students do give a theological explanation, most students do not.

4.8 Camouflage

The students hear a short introduction about the use of camouflage. Afterwards they have to look at six different animals and write down whether they should be happy with their colour or not. We had expected that students from ethnic groups would have difficulty to reason from an animals's point of view and instead would give their own opinion about the animal's appearance. This is based on the experience, that in a role-play children refused to play an animal.

Some of the written answers were as follows:

Correct

- «Yes, ground has same colour as shrewmouse, so bird cannot see»;
- «Frog: yes, because snakes and birds cannot see him so they don't eat him»;
- «Yes, people on frog-hunt cannot see frog in duckweed».

Incomplete

- «Yes, because he has camouflage»;
- «The caterpillar is green, she walks on grass because she is green and grass is green»;
- «Walking-stick is green because he has same colour as leaf».

Incorrect

- «Because he creeps into a hole»;
- «Caterpillar is green and lives off leaves»;
- «Shrewmouse lives in a house in the ground, he eats bread»;
- «I think he likes his colour, he is born with his green colour».

The results were as follows:

CHART 2: Answers «Camouflage»

	CORRECT	INCOMPLETE	INCORRECT	TOTAL
Dutch students	3 (4%)	80 (94%)	2 (2%)	85 (100%)
Foreign students	13 (12%)	47 (43%)	48 (45%)	108 (100%)

We can conclude again that the explanation of a phenomenon is difficult for all children:

- foreign students give at least as many or more correct answers than Dutch students;
- the distribution of answers over the categories correct, incomplete and incorrect is greater among foreign students;
- Dutch students give few correct answers but also few incorrect answers;
- Dutch students give mostly incomplete answers.

Our assumption that foreign students would have difficulty identifying with the animal has been affirmed. Several answers are given from the human viewpoint. Some examples:

- «Wasp has yellow and black stripes. Wasp has skin that makes you think of pirates. They also wear clothes with stripes»;
- «Swan has pearlwhite feather. I think she must love her own colour»;
- «Frog isn't pretty but disgusting»;

- «Wasp ugly, because he sits on the floor and eats the dirt»;

- I don't like the shrewmouse because he is a mouse himself».

In total we found 12 remarks of this kind. One by a Dutch student, 11 by foreign students. This affirms our assumption:

- Foreign students give their own opinion more often than Dutch students do;

- Only 11 students out of 108 are given from the viewpoint of the student himself.

4.9 Kaleidoscope

On the edge of a round card with drawings of horses are slits. Students have to make their cards turn with a knitting pin in front of a mirror and look through the slits. The horses start «trotting». We had expected that it would be very difficult to explain this process especially to foreign students.

These are the results:

CHART 3: Answers «Kaleidoscope»

	CORRECT	INCOMPLETE	INCORRECT	TOTAL
Dutch students	5 (38%)	8 (62%)	0 (0%)	13 (100%)
Foreign students	3 (42%)	2 (29%)	2 (29%)	7 (100%)

Some of the answers:

Correct

- «It's because they have different drawings and when you turn quickly it looks like a flowing movement»;

- «I see the horses, they jump high and low, because one is high and the other is low»;

- «When I turn the circle, the horses they run, because one is like this and one is like that».

Incomplete

- «Horses are drawn differently»;
- «All horses on the circle slowly become one horse who trots»;
- «All horses run up and down in the same direction».

Incorrect

- «I see horses»;
- «The horses go left and the little man go right because the horses are bigger and lighter than the man».

These results indicate clearly that it is difficult for all students to explain such a phenomenon;

- The distribution over the three categories is greater with foreign students;
- Dutch students don't give incorrect answers;
- Dutch students mostly give incomplete answers.

5. Discussion

In our introduction we mentioned the fact that no books or articles were written about the adaptations that a school has to make in its science curriculum in order to help foreign students. This study is therefore only an introduction to this subject. Maybe others will be inspired to research these matters further. Maybe this can help to formulate the right questions.

When we look at the results, we see that most of our expectations did not seem to come true and that some of them only partly came true. In order to discuss the meaning of our observations, we will refer to the points of attention mentioned in paragraph 2.

5.1 Achievements

In general we can say that there is no remarkable difference between the achievements of Dutch students and those of foreign students. Assignments that were easy for Dutch students also seem to be easy for foreign students, while some of the assignments were too difficult for both groups of students. For two assignments (4.8 and 4.9) we made those comparisons explicit. In both cases we can conclude that foreign students give more correct answers, but also more incorrect answers than Dutch students. Dutch children give many incomplete answers. A possible explanation could be that there is more variety of learning abilities among foreign students than there is amongst the Dutch students in these

schools. In Dutch secondary education exist several school types. Based on the results in primary education, children are allocated. The schools, involved in this research, are lower vocational schools, mostly attended by children with lower abilities. Most foreign students in this research had followed Dutch primary education for only a few years. Furthermore, among the foreign students there is greater disparity in age. However, it is still remarkable how well the foreign students scored as compared with the Dutch students.

5.2 Working method

Although we had anticipated great difficulties of co-operation and independent study (assignment 4.1 and 4.2) none of our expectations came out to be true.

When we started the project there were some problems when the students had to work independently, but these occurred everywhere (in all classes), because none of the students, Dutch or foreign, were used to this method.

After a few weeks all students were able to work by themselves in a satisfactory way. This behaviour pattern affirms the theory of SELIM and SHRIGLEY concerning the didactical impact of the discovery method. The newly developed science material, we worked with, appears to be of great educational value, because it emphasises self-discovery. Contrary to our assumptions, foreign students benefit just as much as Dutch students from the method of self-discovery. The teacher has to play an important role in helping the students to get used to working independently by structuring the lessons carefully and allowing for some more time.

5.3 The scientific approach

The problems that we had anticipated were on the one hand fundamental (a conflict of philosophies) and on the other hand incidental (opposition against some assignments because of religious convictions). In order to study the fundamental problems that occur, we included the assignments 4.6, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9. The results of assignments 4.5 and 4.6 do not show any discrimination. The results of assignments 4.8 and 4.9 however do show that ethnic students give different kinds of explanations than Dutch students do. We already mentioned this in paragraph 5.1.

The results of assignment 4.7 and 4.8 affirm our assumptions that the different results can be caused by the different conceptions of nature, but the figures are less important than we had expected. Some ethnic students give indeed non-rational (4.7) and human-centric answers (4.8) but the percentage of these kind of answers is very small (10%). Dutch students hardly ever give these kind of answers. The difference between the two groups is striking. About the

incidental problems that occurred we can say that our assumptions were only partly affirmed. Some of the foreign students did refuse to participate in the soiling of food (4.3). However, for assignment 4.4 none of the students seemed to object to the dissection of plants. We were rather surprised at this reaction. One of the authors, a biology teacher of eight years at school (a), had experienced year after year negative reactions from students when he would tear a flower from a plant in order to demonstrate the different parts. When these students had to dissect and draw a flower, they often were very careful to draw the flower without tearing it apart. The teacher had even adapted his didactical approach by making sure that he did not tear off the flowers in front of his students.

In general we can conclude that the problem we had expected appeared to be of less importance than we thought. However, we have to keep in mind that our group of foreign students consisted of children from many different cultures. Each culture has its own conception of science. This does not mean that we do not have to take these problems seriously, but maybe the differences will fade with time before we will ever know them. As a matter of fact, the Islamic religion also acknowledges a notion as causality. They just consider it as an attribute of God.

(Translation by S T JOHNSON)

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(6) Translator's note: Ditches are as common in the Dutch landscape as dikes are.

(7) Translator's note: Since the linguistical abilities of the foreign students were often limited, I have not translated the broken Dutch into correct English.

A STATEMENT ON THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Science and technology teaching is a right for every child. It is a commonly held view that science, and sometimes technology, are neutral areas which exist outside and across all cultural groups. This determines how science and technology are taught and viewed in education. This results in many students being unable to engage in these activities and gives a depersonalised image of school science and technology. However, science and technology are not neutral, they are activities carried out in particular cultural contexts. The interactions which exist between societies and their science and technology affect the ways in which cultures and societies develop and directly affect the lives and life changes of all people. It is important, therefore, that aspects of social responsibilities are highlighted and are considered an integral part of scientific and technological education. A more realistic view of the nature of science and technology has far reaching implications for all aspects of scientific and technological education.

Science and Technology Seminar

September 1984

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY - DISCUSSION

Science and technology in an intercultural curriculum

It will be clear from the Statement on the Teaching of Science and Technology included with the papers that science and technology in schools are facing a challenge which parallels that which has begun to reshape geography and history syllabuses. The starting point and foundation of the Statement is the human right to full participation in society and this generates two interrelated proposals for the curriculum in science and technology:

1. A right of access by all students to knowledge and understanding of science and technology sufficient to their full participation in society.

2. A right to knowledge of the ways in which science and technology affect the lives of individuals and the future of societies.

In some contexts this emphasis on the social responsibilities of science teachers (and scientists) meets with considerable opposition and it is argued that such matters are the concern of teachers of the social sciences and not of science and technology. It is claimed that the «neutrality» of science allows it to transcend cultures. This position is denied by those who produced the Statement,

> «science and technology are not neutral they are activities carried out in particular cultural contexts.»

As Liz LINDSAY emphasises above the story of science and technology is not a simple tale of a disinterested search for eternal truths. Often, for example, its development has been, and still is, deeply enmeshed with economic or military interests. A science education which will make sense to students of the next century will surely have to acknowledge not only the marvels of science but also its place in society and culture.

There seems little danger that, in the near future, the science and technology curriculum will become so concerned with social and political implications that it will lose sight of its own conceptual structures and concerns. Rather it seems likely that science and technology presented cross-culturally and with respect to their social consequences will enable students to grasp concepts more readily and identify themselves with science more enthusiastically. An intercultural approach to science and

technology teaching would seem to offer some substantial gains for science in general. Given that science is about opening up new ways of thinking, cross-cultural perspectives offer one means of achieving this; first in acknowledging the diverse contributions made through history to the so-called «Western» intellectual tradition and tackling the ethnocentrism of the science curriculum, and second in exploring other ways of viewing the natural world than those which dominate in that scientific tradition. Similarly in the development of an understanding of what technology is and what it can achieve, it is important that it should be seen in terms of its role in particular cultures and social contexts and that the global effects of Western technologies, for ill as well as good, should be studied. Science and technology are not the sole property of the West. Students of science and technology need to know this and also know how Western science and technology affects people in all parts of the world.

The following curriculum model (see Fig. 1) produced by the science and technology seminar attempts to summarise these positions. Each stage is seen as culturally determined within a specific social context.

It may be helpful at this point to refer to a specific example of such an approach. LINDSAY's paper has, as a worked example, Nutrition. The suggested pattern of study enables students to see, from the outset, that both science and school science are culturally framed and that the assumptions on which the topic Nutrition is often proposed in text books is only one way of seeing the available evidence, though it is one that is much reflected in the media and elsewhere. LINDSAY uses a historical approach to get the students to understand the way in which their own assumptions may be built on inadequate knowledge, (see her discussion of the Irish potato famine of 1846-50) and a geographical approach to comparisons across cultures and socio-economic groups. In her view, this ensured that the work made a good deal of sense to the students. However, the study is centrally a scientific study. It is a selection of school knowledge from all three sources indicated in the model (see Fig. 1) but scientific knowledge provides the main content and procedures. For the students, a great degree of emphasis is placed on critical reading, testing hypotheses, evaluation and decision-making. It is a curriculum which aims to enable students to think scientifically as well as acquiring knowledge which they can put to use.

The Conference Seminar heard from a group of teachers working in Berlin who have similarly attempted to see what can be done with some traditional physics topics to ensure that they can be understood and found relevant in a school with a high proportion of students of Turkish origin. They

have explored possibilities for examining the role of science in different cultures and attempted to bring the scientific concepts into relation with the students' everyday knowledge. The topics prepared so far are electricity and theory of heat. Both appear to offer many opportunities for students to make connections across and within cultures and to come to understand related social and economic issues. A short example from a longer set of notes will show how this approach operates.

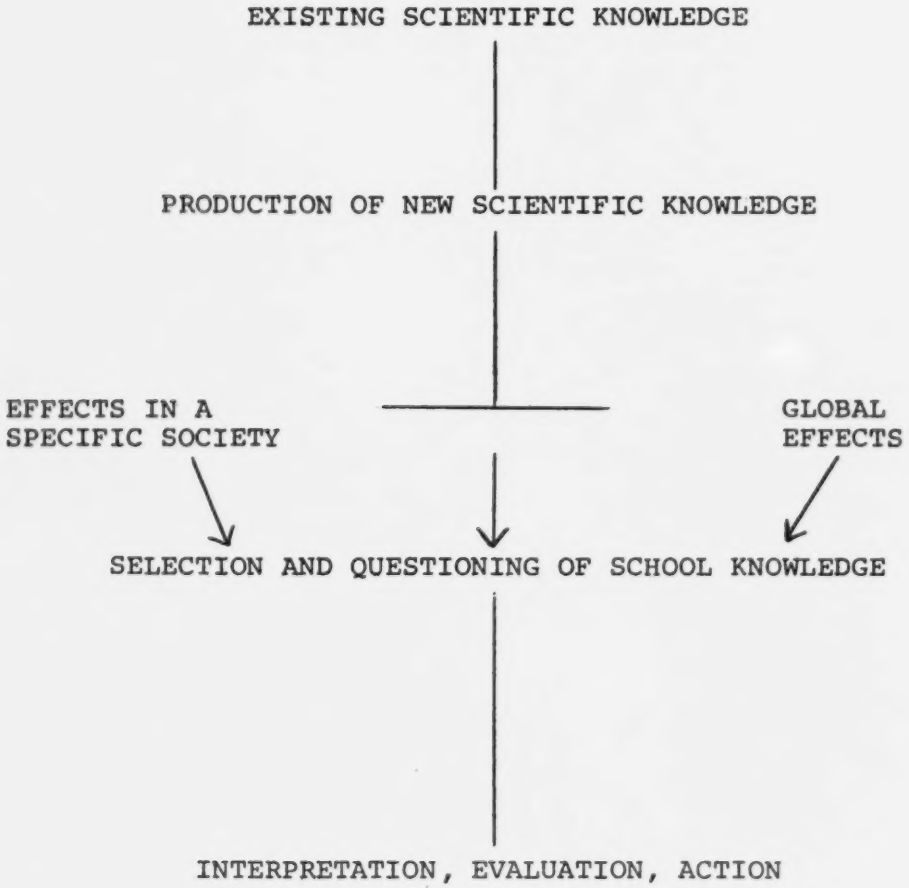

EXISTING SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE
PRODUCTION OF NEW SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE
EFFECTS IN A SPECIFIC SOCIETY
GLOBAL EFFECTS
SELECTION AND QUESTIONING OF SCHOOL KNOWLEDGE
INTERPRETATION, EVALUATION, ACTION

Fig. 1

Science of heat

Situation of the culture and unit of measurement: Celsius, Fahrenheit, Reaumur - culture and convention.

Influences of differences in warmth on cultures, technical and financial problems.

Difference in temperature in relation to different materials: (bridge, road, railway, construction).

Heat and construction of houses: architecture, solar radiation, advantages of traditional forms of construction.

Outcome when there is an unreflecting or forced takeover of European technology in countries the technology wasn't developed for (eg for different climate conditions).

Heat and clothing: differences in culture, problems of unscrupulous imports, etc, etc.

(Notes provided by Raine GOMBERT, Frank HOHN, Klaus SCHURICHT and Jutta MINDERMANN-SPYCHALSKI)

It is perhaps important at this point to refer back to the part of the curriculum model (see Fig. 1) which refers to the curriculum experienced by the students. The model emphasises not just scientific «facts» but learning how to interprete «facts». We have noted in referring to the Berlin teachers' syllabus the importance they place on students being able to make connections. LINDSAY too places great emphasis on the students evaluating the material and ideas they encounter. We have also noted the importance placed in both examples on bringing everyday knowledge and scientific knowledge together. Certain forms of classroom organisation and teaching style are thus preferred. If students are to interpret and evaluate for themselves, they have to be in an active problem solving role; learning through activity, or pursuing resource-base learning. They also need to be engaging in group discussion of hypotheses and findings and challenging each other over interpretations. As LINDSAY argues scientists need wide intellectual horizons.

CONCLUSION

It would seem that an intercultural curriculum for science and technology following the pattern outlined above places almost equal emphasis on three strands of activity. The first is the establishment of an international perspective where at present there is much ethnocentrism. The second is ensuring that science and technology are not treated as areas of study totally separate from their social, economic and political consequences. The third is finding an appropriate

pedagogy for the classroom which is in keeping with the aim for students that they should be able to participate fully in the changing world for which they are being educated. In this context the science and technology seminar drew attention to the importance of bilingual teaching in understanding scientific concepts. (cf HAMBER above). An intercultural science curriculum places a high degree of importance on integration of ideas and thus a further recommendation of the science and technology seminar is for integrated science as the appropriate subject classification for the education of all students during compulsory education.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In Part One a definition of intercultural education was given and the principle focus of this book has been the exploration of curriculum issues in the light of that definition. The individual papers do not however share all aspects of that definition. It could be argued, as MCLEAN did in his evaluation of the conference that «there are different priorities and in some instances disagreement over particular aims» but that this diversity is not only inevitable but is potentially valuable. Whilst we would accept the practical reality of the position that MCLEAN adopts, we are concerned that this divergence makes more widespread curriculum reforms difficult to realise.

Perhaps the clearest way to look at this diversity of response is to examine it in terms of David HARVEY's «liberal» and «socialist formulations» (1). However, a reading of the positions put forward in the papers reveals not so much a gulf as a difference in emphasis. This partially reflects current shifts in social theory, particularly neo- and post-Marxist theory, concerning the primacy of economic relations in an understanding of society. Equally, it reflects non-Marxist's increasing acceptance of the crucial importance of such relations. At a further level, it also reflects the increasing complexity of attempts to examine society not only in terms of class relations but also in terms of race and gender relations and the interconnections that may be made between these differing axes of social analysis.

However, such theorising may often appear to have the relevance to schooling of a medieval scholastic theological debate. We do not believe this to be the case, for unless curriculum practice is firmly based on social theory it is likely to remain haphazard and ineffective.

Yet the social theories that support much of the work in this book are, in the main, oppositional, ones. By this we mean that whether «liberal» or «socialist» they do not reflect dominant perspectives as currently expressed in many European education systems. The issue for teachers is whether they attempt to seek common ground between these various stances and progress along that path, or whether an overtly oppositional stance should be taken.

Teachers, and others with control over the curriculum, have to make such choices. Our view is that such tensions are inevitable. To put it more definitely, teachers are caught in a dilemma. If they are to gain the confidence and

trust of the minority communities, their curriculum practice may often, although not necessarily, be challenging of the educational status quo. If, however, this challenge is perceived as being either too confrontational and/or overt, they are likely to lose the trust (at the very least) of their employers, often the representative of the dominant group in society.

Consequently, we would assert that within this dilemma, teachers ought to have a realistic view of their own society and, as a high priority, a good knowledge of the specific educational interests of the minority communities. Within this broad commitment there needs to be, in addition, a realisation and understanding of other demands. Sometimes, if only superficially, they can be reconciled. The BORRELLI/ ESSINGER paper perhaps suggests a useful way forward here. A series of broadly consensual assertions are made from which a curriculum may be derived. The approach has the further virtue in that it is not exclusive. Acceptance of the broad principles allows for the exploration of a wide range of social and educational inequalities, such as those based on socio-economic position, gender and handicap.

It could be further argued that such a position enables teachers and other curriculum planners to take advantage of statements such as the EEC Directive on language teaching or the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers statement on intercultural education and to use them to make space for change within the present curriculum. Several of the papers in this book demonstrate the potential of this approach, even within a national educational climate that is indifferent or hostile to change.

Another element to disentangle at this stage is the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive statements relating to the intercultural curriculum. We accept the definition that argues that our societies are to be described as multicultural and that the educational responses should be intercultural ie that the relationships between cultures need to be closely explored rather than the exploration of cultures per se. Without this exploration of relationships, there is the real danger that the debate becomes decontextualised, and that the reality of unequal power relations, racism and discrimination will be downgraded in importance.

A final conclusion regarding intercultural education and its curricular consequences relates to the preceding discussion. It is one that links in with what has been best described (in the Chinese system) as the debate over being «red and expert». In other words the conflict over whether it is possible to have the «correct» attitudes and also have expertise. Ideally teachers should have both but in practice it is a continual struggle, the balance swinging from one

polarity to the other depending on socio-political circumstances. It has generally been seen as an issue that effects communist education systems, but we could argue that it is becoming an issue in Western European education systems also. Although a separate issue from that of the whole vexed area of teacher bias (discussed in Part Three) it does have links. It is particularly contentious in the area of intercultural education at the present time, especially as it does effect curricula practice.

A sharp example of the difference relates to what is commonly called Racism Awareness Training (RAT). Courses (usually short and intensive) attempt to raise the consciousness of the participants in relation to their own attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. Whatever the theory might say, in practice many such courses tend to be anti-intellectual guilt sharing sessions. They may deconstruct but do little in the way of construction.

Traditional models of teacher development (knowledge, skills, attitudes, social action) emphasise the balance between the two sides of the red/expert debate mentioned earlier. Racism Awareness Training in practice concentrates on attitudes and social action only. Given the strongly held and slowly acquired nature of such attitudes, RAT is likely to achieve little that is positive. If such attitudes inform curriculum practice the consequences are likely to be similar.

This is not to say that attitudes are not important, merely to emphasise that they are slow to change and that if policy is attempting to change attitudes, such policy must have realistic time frames. In addition, a practical policy must have a carefully constructed pattern of activity that is integrated with other elements of teacher development, for example the new information and skills that are required to teach effectively in multicultural societies.

This discussion about attitudes and political stance towards intercultural education is not a plea for moderation, for doing little, slowly and cautiously, more a plea for a recognition of the reality of the education systems within which we work.

The book argues for major changes in the ways in which we should construct the school curriculum. The climate, social, economic and educational appears hostile to such endeavours in many schooling systems. However, we would argue that schooling systems, schools and teachers in every system have varying degrees of relative autonomy. There is space which can be contested and gained. In a sense the conference from which this book is derived is one such instance.

Therefore, in an attempt to concretise such possibilities we would recommend that a more formal arrangement for intercultural curricula change and development should be undertaken. To help make this clearer the concept of dialogue and exchange is a useful one, and is discussed in more detail in the next section.

DIALOGUE AND EXCHANGE - A WAY FORWARD

If curricular development is to take place, it has to take into account certain key possibilities, namely:

1. That curriculum development, in common with education generally, is not static. Just as it was argued earlier in the book with regard to the dynamics of cultural change, it is asserted here that education, as a reflection of a constantly changing society, is also in a state of continual change.

2. Teachers, too, cannot be seen as static and unchanging. Interaction with their students and colleagues, the changing nature of their subject area, and their own awareness of the changes in their own societies and educational systems must be taken into account.

Within that dynamic framework, a model emphasising dialogue and exchange has considerable potential. In Figure 1 the main elements of the model are outlined.

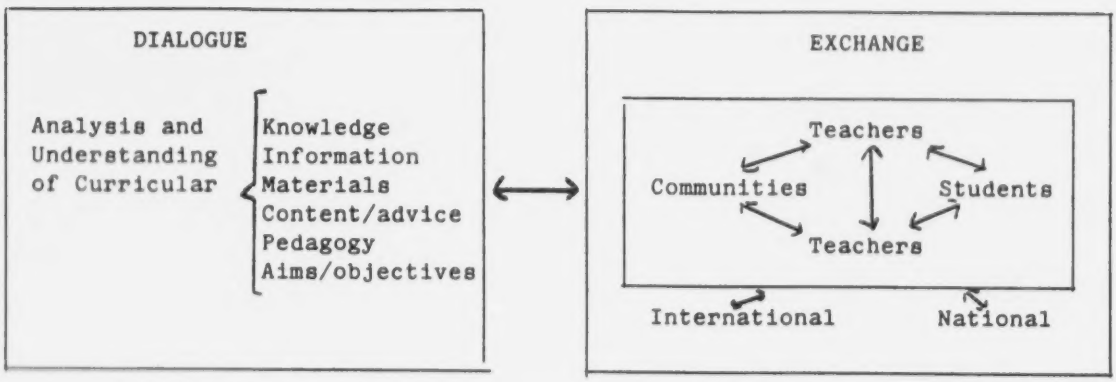
By dialogue, we simply mean that the more that teachers and others communicate and share ideas and analyses with respect to the curriculum, the more the work of all will be enhanced. Just as it was earlier argued in respect of culture, it is argued here that contact between teachers and others concerned with intercultural curriculum matters leads to change.

The consequent analysis and discussion of the range of areas embraced by the term curriculum is obviously a large one. Some of the key areas are indicated in the model. A key one is perhaps the area of knowledge. Knowledge of one's own society and its potential for development is crucial as is a clear understanding of what knowledge school students need and what knowledge school students themselves bring to the curriculum. These sorts of questions raise epistemological issues which are difficult to engage with but which are crucial. Rhetorical statements like «really useful knowledge» conceal as much as they reveal unless their epistemological foundations are exposed.

These, and other issues, are discussed in the curriculum section of this book. At this point we wish to emphasise firstly the wide range of concerns that are embraced by the term and secondly, that their examination must not be undertaken as if the object of study was static.

Figure 1

A model for dialogue and exchange



Given that the complexity of the dialogue is better understood, its implementation, although difficult to organise and arrange, has the potential for real progress in terms of curriculum innovation and development.

Exchange is the process by which such dialogue is achieved. It falls into two broad areas, namely,

i. who exchanges information? and

ii. in relation to what geographical area?

In the first instance, teachers (and other educationists concerned with the curriculum) need to exchange their understandings and information about the curriculum with other teachers. In addition, teachers need to communicate with the communities they serve, their students and their parents. Obviously these linkages could be extended, but our principal concern here is with teachers.

The second, admittedly cumbersome formulation, namely geographical area, brings in both national and international perspectives. There is value in terms of curricula linkages of dialogue resulting from exchange between teachers within schools, regions, nation states and internationally. We would not wish to argue for a hierarchy of value here, but accept that the smaller the geographical scale the easier it is, in theory, to organise.

This is not an advocacy of simplistic curriculum borrowing. It is more an advocacy of a wider educational sensitivity. It is a common complaint of non-teacher educationists that too many teachers in schools have a limited perception of the educational variety within their own society, never mind at the international level. Yet far too often, national governments and international agencies organise exchange around educationists other than classroom teachers - the so-called «experts». We do not deny the value of such exchange, but do question its over narrow focus.

Consequently we would advocate a greater concentration on policies that facilitate greater international exchange for teachers. Travel within Western Europe is not cheap, but neither is it so much more expensive than travel within nations, particularly when seen within nations, particularly when seen within the total national budgets for inservice education and training (INSET) and curriculum development.

Three final points need to be made. Firstly, a great deal of contact already takes place at the local, principally school level. Much of this is informal, and unrecorded. Indeed it is inherent to education. Thus the basis for a more systematised development is already there.

Secondly, the intranational and international elements in the curriculum are not an either/or choice but are inextricably interwoven. School students cannot understand their own position and gain knowledge and mastery of it without an understanding of both the international and national circumstances that shape their world. (The same is clearly true for all concerned with education in general and the intercultural curriculum in particular.)

This information and understanding can only partly be gained from print and other media. Interpersonal contact and dialogue is essential.

Thirdly, and this reinforces a point made earlier, commitment to forms of dialogue and exchange such as have been advocated here do not carry with them financial implications that are unrealistic. International, national and regional educational agencies, spend enormous sums of money on curriculum development and INSET already. A redirection of some of these resources along the lines advocated would be of enormous benefit to intranational and international understanding, to those school students whose levels of educational success are presently low, and to the teachers themselves, who may often feel discouraged with the results from their own endeavours in the classroom.

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A P P E N D I X I

PAPERS GIVEN AT THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL CURRICULUM - 24-29 SEPTEMBER 1984

Name	Title of Paper(s)
BATEL, A Institute of Education, Stockholm, Sweden	Some aspects of home language education in Sweden
BATELAAN, P Stichting Opleiding Leraren	Teachers cannot live on rhetoric
BLEYS, J/HOEIJ VAN J/ SHAIK VAN L Integratie Project Scholenjeneenschappen, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Catholic Pedagogical Centre, Hertogenbosch, The Netherlands	Reactions of students of ethnic groups on curriculum parts of science
BORRELLI M/ESSINGER, H, Universitat Wuppertal/ Freie Universität, Berlin, FRG	Political education in classes with students from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds
BRANDT, G Institute of Education London, United Kingdom	Intercultural education as «immigrant education» - a consumer perspective
BROADBENT, J/PATEL, H Institute of Education, London, United Kingdom/ Alperton High School, United Kingdom	Catering for a wide range of attainment in community language classes
DAHL, K The National Swedish Board of Education	Life and literature
DALPHINIS, M Norlington High School, United Kingdom	Recommendations for a productive use of creoles in teaching
DODGSON, E Lilian Baylis School, United Kingdom	Drama for a multicultural society

DONK, R Christian Institute for Teacher Education, Zwolle, The Netherlands	Intercultural education and history teaching
FILE, N Tulse Hill School, United Kingdom	Forty years at the metropolis race relations and the school revisited
FURLONG T Holland Park School, United Kingdom	Teaching African and Caribbean literature - some personal experiences and reflections
GILL, D ILEA Centre for Anti-Racist Education, London, United Kingdom	Geography and intercultural education
GOMBERT, R/HOHN, F/ SCHURICHT, K/ MINDERMANN-SPYCHALSKI, J, Schulversuch SO, 36 Kreuzberg, Bezirksamt Kreuzberg, Schulversuch SO 36 Kreuzberg, FRG	Intercultural education within science lessons
GUNDARA, J Institute of Education London, United Kingdom	Migration and settlement in western Europe
HAMBER, H The National Board of Education, Sweden	Education of immigrant children and intercultural education in Swedish schools
HOFF, G Freie Universität, Berlin, FRG	Intercultural aspects in history education - adaptation of the curriculum for the Berlin 6th grade from an intercultural viewpoint
HOFFMAN-OKKES, I Stichting Opleidung Leraren, Utrecht, The Netherlands	An integrated approach to second language teaching
HOLMSTRÖM, L Bowthorpe Comprehensive School, United Kingdom	South Asian literature in British schools
HOOF VAN, C RSG Minkema, Woerden, The Netherlands	«Vreemde Talen. Hoezo Vreemd?» An intercultural approach to language teaching

JOB, H Volkshochschule Neukölln, Berlin, FRG	Turkish-German youth theatre of the Neukölln Adult Education Centre of Berlin
KOTTMANN-MENTZ, C Grundschule Kurt Tucholsky, FRG	Saziye learns German and Turkish
LINDSAY, L Quintin Kynaston School United Kingdom	Can a secondary science/technology curriculum contribute to an anti-racist multicultural education
LYNCH, J Sunderland Polytechnic, United Kingdom	Interculturalism and multiculturalism: the educational context in Europe
MATULESSY, O Inspraakorgaan Welzyn Molukkers, Utrecht, The Netherlands	Education and Moluccans
SCHLUTER, R Levanger College of Education, The Netherlands	The Immigrant Project - 1980-81 Teaching and gypsies at Levanger College of Education, the project: «The Gypsies» - a threatened minority
STANKOVSKI, M Institute of Education Stockholm, Sweden	Home language
SVINGBY, G University of Gothenburgh, Sweden	An intercultural curriculum in social studies. Some notes and examples
UCAR, A Schulpsychologischer Dienst Kreuzberg, FRG	Educational problems of the minorities in the Federal Republic of Germany
WENNBERG, G University of Uppsala, Sweden	Intercultural curriculum - possible contribution from geography

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS TO THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM - 24-29 SEPTEMBER 1984

AUSTRIA	GRUBER-LANG, M	
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY	BORRELLI, M	JOB, H
	ESSINGER, H	KOTTMANN-MENTZ, G
	GOMBERT, R	SPYCHALSKI-MINDERMANN, J
	HOFF, G	UCAR, A
	HOHN, F	GERHMANN, S
FINLAND	PIIPO, T	
THE NETHERLANDS	BATELAAN, P	JOELE-LENTZ, D
	BLEYS, J W	JUFFERMANS, D
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	DAHL, K	VEDIN, L
	EKLUND, S	WENNBERG, G
	ERICSSON, E	STANKOVSKI, M
	HAMBER, H	
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	DALPHINIS, M	LYNCH, J
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	DODGSON, E	PATEL, H
	FILE, N	SHEPHERD, F
	FURLONG, T	JAMES, S
	GILL, D	WATTS, S
	GUNDARA, J	WELCH, J
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